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STUDIES
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BY
HAVELOCK ELLIS

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STUDIES IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX.

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STUDIES
IN THE
PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX
Defining man
SEXUAL INVERSION

BY
HAVELOCK ELLIS



PHILADELPHIA
F. A. DAVIS COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
1906

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

ALTHOUGH it is scarcely four years since this book was published, it has had a somewhat eventful history. It was favorably received by the medical press on its first publication in London and no attempt was made to bring it before the general public. A prosecution was, however, initiated by the police against a bookseller who sold the book, and the Recorder of London (the late Sir Charles Hall), sitting as a judge, finally decided that it was not a scientific work, and ordered it to be destroyed. It was a deplorable decision from many points of view, though I need scarcely say that I was able to bear with equanimity the recorder's opinion of my book's scientific value; I have the satisfaction of knowing that neither in my own country, nor in continental Europe, nor in America, has anyone entitled to an authoritative opinion on the subjects with which I deal pronounced adversely to my book, while, on the other hand, many have spoken in its favor in terms more flattering than I can venture to think that I deserve. At the same time I have no wish to act in opposition to the laws of my country, even as interpreted by amateur experts on the judicial bench, and immediately the issue of the Bedborough case was known I declared my intention not to publish any of the further volumes of my *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* in England. So far as I have been able to control the matter, I have most strictly adhered to this resolution.

In the meanwhile I proceeded to revise and enlarge my book, aided in this task by many friends and correspondents. Eleven new cases have been added; these are III, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XXVI, XXXV, XXXVI, and XXXVII, some of them being, I consider, of much psychological interest. Many additions and necessary corrections have also been made throughout, though the stand-point and main conclusions re-

main the same. The only omission made is that of a brief appendix written for me by a woman physician.

As it now stands, this is the only edition of my book in English authorized by me. Any other edition of this book or of any volume of my *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* is issued without my authorization and against my wish.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

Carbis Water, Lelant, Cornwall, England.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

It was not my intention to publish a study of an abnormal manifestation of the sexual instinct before discussing its normal manifestations. It has happened, however, that this part of my work is ready first, and, since I thus gain a longer period to develop the central part of my subject, I do not regret the change of plan.

I had not at first proposed to devote a whole volume to sexual inversion. It may even be that I was inclined to slur it over as an unpleasant subject, and one that it was not wise to enlarge on. But I found in time that several persons for whom I felt respect and admiration were the congenital subjects of this abnormality. At the same time I realized that in England, more than in any other country, the law and public opinion combine to place a heavy penal burden and a severe social stigma on the manifestations of an instinct which to those persons who possess it frequently appears natural and normal. It was clear, therefore, that the matter was in special need of elucidation and discussion.

There can be no doubt that a peculiar amount of ignorance exists regarding the subject of sexual inversion. I know medical men of many years' general experience who have never, to their knowledge, come across a single case. We may remember, indeed, that some fifteen years ago the total number of cases recorded in scientific literature scarcely equaled those of British race which I have obtained, and that before my first cases were published not a single British case, unconnected with the asylum or the prison, had ever been recorded. Probably not a very large number of people are even aware that the turning in of the sexual instinct toward persons of the same sex can ever be regarded as inborn, so far as any sexual instinct is inborn. And very few, indeed, would not be surprised if it were possible to

publish a list of the names of sexually inverted men and women who at the present time are honorably known in church, state, society, art, or letters. It could not be positively affirmed of all such persons that they were born inverted, but in most the inverted tendency seems to be instinctive, and appears at a somewhat early age. In any case, however, it must be realized that in this volume we are not dealing with subjects belonging to the lunatic asylum or the prison. We are concerned with individuals who live in freedom, some of them suffering intensely from their abnormal organization, but otherwise ordinary members of society. In a few cases we are concerned with individuals whose moral or artistic ideals have widely influenced their fellows, who know nothing of the peculiar organization which has largely molded those ideals.

I am indebted to several friends for notes, observations, and correspondence on this subject, more especially to one, referred to as "Z.," and to another as "Q.," who have obtained a considerable number of reliable histories for me, and have also supplied many valuable notes; to "Josiah Flynt" (whose articles on tramps in *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Magazine* have attracted wide attention) for an appendix on homosexuality among tramps; to Drs. Kiernan, Lydston, and Talbot for assistance at various points noted in the text; and to Dr. K., an American woman physician, who kindly assisted me in obtaining cases, and has also supplied an appendix. Other obligations are mentioned in the text.

All those portions of the book which are of medical or medico-legal interest, including most of the cases, have appeared during the last three years in the *Alienist and Neurologist*, the *Journal of Mental Science*, the *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde*, the *Medico-legal Journal*, and the *Archivio delle Psicopatie Sessuale*. The cases, as they appear in the present volume, have been slightly condensed, but nothing of genuine psychological interest has been omitted. Owing to some delay in the publication of the English edition of the work, a German translation by my friend, Dr. Hans Kurella, editor of the *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde*, has already appeared (1896)

in the *Bibliothek für Sozialwissenschaft*. The German edition contains some matter which has finally been rejected from the English edition as of minor importance; on the other hand, much has been added to the English edition, and the whole carefully revised.

I have only to add that if it may seem that I have unduly ignored the cases and arguments brought forward by other writers, it is by no means because I wish to depreciate the valuable work done by my predecessors in this field. It is solely because I have not desired to popularize the results previously reached, but simply to bring forward my own results. If I had not been able to present new facts in what is perhaps a new light, I should not feel justified in approaching the subject of sexual inversion at all.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

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SEXUAL INVERSION.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

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CONGENITAL sexual inversion—that is to say, sexual instinct turned by inborn constitutional abnormality toward persons of the same sex—is a comparatively rare phenomenon, so far as our knowledge at present extends. Sexual attraction between persons of the same sex, seemingly due to the accidental absence of the natural objects of sexual attraction, is, on the other hand, of wide occurrence among all human races and among most of the higher animals. It is only during recent years that sexual inversion has been recognized; previously it was not distinguished from homosexual love generally,¹—as it is convenient to call the collective phenomena of sexual attraction within the circle of a single sex,—and homosexuality was regarded as a national custom, as an individual vice, or as an unimportant episode in grave forms of insanity.²

¹ "Homosexual" is a barbarously hybrid word; it is, however, convenient, and now widely used. "Homogenic" has been suggested as a substitute.

² Taking all its forms *en bloc*, as they are known to the police, homosexuality is seen to possess formidable proportions. Thus in France, from official papers which passed through M. Carlier's bureau during ten years (1860-70) he compiled a list of 6342 pederasts who came within the cognizance of the police: 2049 Parisians, 3709 provincials, and 584 foreigners. Of these, 3432, or more than the half, could not be convicted of illegal acts.

Before approaching the study of sexual inversion in cases which we may investigate with some degree of scientific accuracy, there is interest in glancing briefly at the phenomena as they appear before us, as yet scarcely or at all differentiated, among animals, among various human races, and at various periods.

Among animals in a domesticated or confined state it is easy to find evidence of homosexual attraction, due merely to the absence of the other sex. Buffon long since observed many examples of this, especially among birds. He found that, if male or female birds of various species—such as partridges, fowls, and doves—were shut up together, they would soon begin to have sexual relations among themselves, the males sooner and more frequently than the females. More recently Sainte-Claire Deville observed that dogs, rams, and bulls, when isolated, first became restless and dangerous and then acquired a permanent state of sexual excitement, not obeying the laws of heat, and leading them to attempts to couple together; the presence of the opposite sex at once restored them to normal conditions.¹ It may easily be observed how a cow in heat exerts an exciting influence on other cows, impelling them to attempt to play the bull's part. Lacassagne has also noted among young fowls and puppies, etc., that, before ever having had relations with the opposite sex, and while in complete liberty, they make hesitating attempts at intercourse with their own sex.² This, indeed, together with similar perversions, may often be observed, especially in puppies, who afterward become perfectly normal. Female monkeys, even when grown up (as Moll was informed), behave in a sexual way to each other, though it is difficult to say how far this is merely in play. Dr. Seitz, Director of the Frankfurt Zoölogical Garden, gave Moll a record of his own careful observations of

¹ H. Sainte-Claire Deville, "De l'Internat et son influence sur l'éducation de la jeunesse," a paper read to the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, July 27, 1871, and quoted by Chevalier, *L'Inversion Sexuelle*, pp. 204-5.

² Lacassagne, "De la Criminalité chez les Animaux," *Revue Scientifique*, 1882.

homosexual phenomena among the males and females of various animals confined in the Garden (*Antelope cervicapra*, *Bos Indicus*, *Capra hircus*, *Ovis steatopyga*).¹ In all such cases we are not concerned with sexual inversion, but merely with the accidental turning of the sexual instinct into an abnormal channel, the instinct being called out by an approximate substitute, or even by diffused emotional excitement, in the absence of the normal object.

It is probable, however, that cases of true sexual inversion—in which gratification is preferably sought in the same sex—may be found among animals, although observations have rarely been made or recorded. It has been found by Muccioli, an Italian authority on pigeons, that among Belgian carrier-pigeons inverted practices may occur, even in the presence of many of the other sex.² This seems to be true inversion, though we are not told whether these birds were also attracted toward the opposite sex. The birds of this family appear to be specially liable to sexual perversion. Thus M. J. Bailly-Maitre, a breeder of great knowledge and a keen observer, wrote to Giard that “they are strange creatures in their manners and customs and apt to elude the most persistent observer. No animal is more depraved. Mating between males, and still more frequently between females, often occurs at an early age: up to the second year. I have had several pairs of pigeons formed by subjects of the same sex who for many months behaved as if the mating were natural. In some cases this had taken place among young birds of the same nest, who acted like real mates, though both subjects were males. In order to mate them productively we have had to separate them and shut each of them up for some days with a female.”³

¹ See Moll, *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, 1898, B. 1, pp. 369, 374-5. For a full summary of all that is at present known concerning homosexuality in animals see F. Karsch, “Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Tieren auf Grund der Literatur,” *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, B. 2, 1899, pp. 126-154.

² Muccioli, “Degenerazione e Criminalità nei Colombi,” *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1893, p. 40.

³ *L'Intermédiaire des Biologistes*, November 20, 1897.

Among birds generally, inverted sexuality seems to accompany the development of the secondary sexual characters of the opposite sex which is sometimes found. Thus, a poultry-breeder describes a hen (colored Dorking) crowing like a cock, only somewhat more harshly, as a cockerel crows, and with an enormous comb, larger than is ever seen in the male. This bird used to try to tread her fellow-hens. At the same time she layed early and regularly, and produced "grand chickens."¹ Among ducks, also, it has occasionally been observed that the female assumes at the same time both male livery and male sexual tendencies. It is probable that such observations will be multiplied in the future, and that sexual inversion in the true sense will be found commoner among animals than at present it appears to be.

Traces of homosexual practices, sometimes on a large scale, have been found among all the great divisions of the human race. It would be possible to collect a considerable body of evidence under this head. Unfortunately, however, the travelers and others on whose records we are dependent have been so shy of touching these subjects, and so ignorant of the main points for investigation, that it is very difficult to discover sexual inversion in the proper sense in any lower race. Travelers have spoken vaguely of crimes against nature without defining the precise relationship involved nor inquiring how far any congenital impulse could be distinguished.

Looking at the phenomena generally, so far as they have been recorded among various lower races, we seem bound to recognize that there is a wide-spread natural instinct impelling men toward homosexual relationships, and that this has been sometimes, though very exceptionally, seized upon and developed for advantageous social purposes. On the whole, however, unnatural intercourse (sodomy) has been regarded as an antisocial offense, and punishable sometimes by the most serious penalties that could be invented. This was the case in ancient Mexico, in Peru, among the Persians, in China, and among the Hebrews and Mohammedans.

¹ R. S. Rutherford, "Crowing Hens," *Poultry*, January 26, 1896.

One might be tempted to expect that homosexual practices would be encouraged whenever it was necessary to keep down the population. Aristotle says that it was allowed by law in Crete for this end. And Professor Haddon tells me that at Torres Straits a native advocated sodomy on this ground.¹ There seems, however, on the whole, to be little evidence pointing to this utilization of the practice. The homosexual tendency appears to have flourished chiefly among warriors and warlike peoples. During war and the separation from women that war involves the homosexual instinct tends to develop; it flourished, for instance, among the Carthaginians and among the Normans, as well as among the warlike Dorians, Scythians, Tartars, and Celts,² and, when there has been an absence of any strong moral feeling against it, the instinct has been cultivated and idealized as a military virtue, partly because it counteracts the longing for the softening feminine influences of the home and partly because it seems to have an inspiring influence in promoting heroism and heightening *esprit de corps*. In the lament of David over Jonathan we have a picture of intimate friendship—"passing the love of women"—between comrades in arms among a barbarous, warlike race. There is nothing to show that such a relationship was sexual, but among warriors in New Caledonia friendships that were undoubtedly homosexual were recognized and regulated; the fraternity of arms, according to Foley,³ complicated with pederasty, was more sacred than uterine fraternity. We have, moreover, a recent example of the same relationships recognized in a modern European race—the Albanians.

Hahn, in the course of his *Albanische Studien*, says that the young men between 16 and 24 love boys from about 12 to 17. A Gege marries at the age of 24 or 25, and then he usually, but not always, gives up boy-love. The following passage is reported by Hahn as the actual

¹ Beardmore also notes that sodomy is "regularly indulged in" in New Guinea on this account. (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, May, 1890, p. 464.)

² I have been told by medical men in India that it is specially common among the Sikhs, the finest soldier-race in India.

³ Foley, *Bulletin Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, October 9, 1879.

language used to him by an Albanian Gege: "The lover's feeling for the boy is pure as sunshine. It places the beloved on the same pedestal as a saint. It is the highest and most exalted passion of which the human breast is capable. The sight of a beautiful youth awakens astonishment in the lover, and opens the door of his heart to the delight which the contemplation of this loveliness affords. Love takes possession of him so completely that all his thought and feeling goes out in it. If he finds himself in the presence of the beloved, he rests absorbed in gazing on him. Absent, he thinks of nought but him. If the beloved unexpectedly appears, he falls into confusion, changes color, turns alternately pale and red. His heart beats faster and impedes his breathing. He has ears and eyes only for the beloved. He shuns touching him with the hand, kisses him only on the forehead, sings his praise in verse, a woman's never." One of these love-poems of an Albanian Gege runs as follows: "The sun, when it rises in the morning, is like you, boy, when you are near me. When your dark eye turns upon me, it drives my reason from my head."¹

But the most important and the most thoroughly known case is that of Greece during its period of highest military as well as ethical and intellectual vigor.² In this case, as in those already mentioned, the homosexual tendency was sometimes regarded as having beneficial results, which caused it to be condoned, if not, indeed, fostered as a virtue.

There is, however, still more abundant evidence to show that homosexual practices exist and have long existed in most parts of the world outside Europe, even when subserving no obvious social end. How far they are associated with congenital inversion is usually very doubtful. In China, for instance, it seems that there are special houses devoted to male prostitution, though less numerous than the houses devoted to females. When a rich man gives a feast he sends for women to cheer the repast by music and song, and for boys to serve at table and to entertain the guests by their lively conversation. The young people have been carefully brought up for this occupation, receiving an

¹ *Albanische Studien*, 1894, pp. 166 *et seq.* The passage is translated by the friend to whom I owe the above note.

² As Greek *paidierastia* seems to me to throw little light on the nature of inversion, I have not thought it necessary to deal with it here.

excellent education, and their mental qualities are more highly valued than their physical attractiveness. The women are less carefully brought up and less esteemed. After the meal the lads usually return home with a considerable fee. What further occurs the Chinese say little about. It seems that real and deep affection is often born of these relations, at first Platonic, but in the end becoming physical, not a matter for great concern in the eyes of the Chinese. In the Chinese novels, often of a very literary character, devoted to masculine love, it seems that all the preliminaries and transports of normal love are to be found, while physical union may terminate the scene.¹ In China, however, the law may be brought into action for attempts against nature even with mutual consent; the penalty is one hundred strokes with the bamboo and a month's imprisonment; if there is violence, the penalty is decapitation²; I am not able to say how far the law is a dead letter. According to Matignon, so far as pederasty exists in China, it is carried on with much more decorum and restraint than it is in Europe, and he thinks it may be put down to the credit of the Chinese that, unlike Europeans, they never practice unnatural connection with women. His account of the customs of the Chinese in these matters confirms Morache's, and he remarks that, though not much spoken of, pederasty is not looked down upon. He gives some interesting details concerning the boy prostitutes. These are sold by their parents (sometimes stolen from them), about the age of four, and educated, while they are also subjected to a special physical training, which includes massage of the gluteal regions to favor development, dilatation of the anus, and epilation (which is not, however, practiced by Chinese women). At the same time, they are taught music, singing, drawing, and the art of poetry. The waiters at the restaurants always know where these young gentlemen are to be found when they are required to grace a rich

¹ Morache, article "Chine," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*. In Annam, also, according to Mondière (*Mémoires de Société d'Anthropologie*, tome i, p. 465), pederasty has always existed, especially among young people; Matignon, however, denies this.

² Pauthier, *Chine Moderne*, p. 251.

man's feast. They are generally accompanied by a guardian, and usually nothing very serious takes place, for they know their value, and money will not always buy their expensive favors. They are very effeminate, luxuriously dressed and perfumed, and they seldom go on foot. There are, however, lower orders of such prostitutes.¹

Among the American Indians, from the Eskimo of Alaska downward to Brazil and still farther south, homosexual customs have been very frequently observed. Sometimes they are regarded by the tribe with honor, sometimes with indifference, sometimes with contempt; but they appear to be always tolerated. Although there are local differences, these customs, on the whole, seem to have much in common. The best early description which I have been able to find is by Langsdorff² and concerns the Aleuts of Oonalashka in Alaska: "Boys, if they happen to be very handsome," he says, "are often brought up entirely in the manner of girls, and instructed in the arts women use to please men; their beards are carefully plucked out as soon as they begin to appear, and their chins tattooed like those of women; they wear ornaments of glass beads upon their legs and arms, bind and cut their hair in the same manner as the women, and supply their place with the men as concubines. This shocking, unnatural, and immoral practice has obtained here even from the remotest times; nor have any measures hitherto been taken to repress and restrain it; such men are known under the name of *schopans*."

Among the Konyagas Langsdorff found the custom much more common than among the Aleuts; he remarks that, although the mothers brought up some of their children in this way, they seemed very fond of their offspring. Lisiansky, at about the same period, tells us that: "Of all the customs of these islanders, the most disgusting is that of men, called *schoopans*, living with men, and supplying the place of women. These are

¹ J. J. Matignon, "Deux Mots sur la Péderastie en Chine," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, January, 1899.

² *Voyages and Travels*, 1814, Part II, p. 47.

brought up from their infancy with females, and taught all the feminine arts. They even assume the manner and dress of the women so nearly that a stranger would naturally take them for what they are not. This odious practice was formerly so prevalent that the residence of one of these monsters in a house was considered as fortunate; it is, however, daily losing ground."¹ He mentions a case in which a priest had nearly married two males, when an interpreter chanced to come in and was able to inform him what he was doing. It is stated by Holmberg² that the boy is selected to be a *schúpan* because he is girl-like; this, however, is by no means clear from the narratives; if it could be demonstrated, it would be a matter of some interest. As the case stands, it appears that the *schúpan* is effeminated purely by suggestion and association, beginning at the earliest years.

In Louisiana, Florida, Yucatan, etc., somewhat similar customs exist or have existed. In Brazil men are to be found dressed as women and solely occupying themselves with feminine occupations; they are not very highly regarded.³ They are called *cudinas*: i.e., circumcised.

Among all the tribes of the northwest United States sexual inverts may be found. The invert is called a *boté* ("not man, not woman") by the Montana, and a *burdash* ("half-man, half-woman") by the Washington Indians. The *boté* has been carefully studied by Dr. A. B. Holder.⁴ Dr. Holder finds that the *boté* wears woman's dress, and that his speech and manners are feminine. The dress and manners are assumed in childhood, but no sexual practices take place until puberty. These consist in the practice of *fellatio* by the *boté*, who probably himself experiences the orgasm at the same time. The *boté* is not a pederast, although pederasty occurs among these Indians. Dr. Holder ex-

¹ U. Lisiansky, *Voyage*, etc., London, 1814, p. 199.

² *Ethnographische Skizzen*, 1855, p. 121.

³ C. F. P. von Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Amerika's*, Leipzig, 1867, B. 1, p. 74. In Ancient Mexico Bernal Diaz wrote: *Erant quasi omnes sodomia commaculati, et adolescentes multi, muliebriter vestiti, ibant publice, cibum quarentes ab isto diabolico et abominabili labore.*

⁴ *New York Medical Journal*, December 7, 1889.

amined a *boté* who was splendidly made, prepossessing, and in perfect health. With much reluctance he agreed to a careful examination. The sexual organs were quite normal, though perhaps not quite so large as his *physique* would suggest, but he had never had intercourse with a woman. On removing his clothes he pressed his thighs together, as a timid woman would, so as to conceal completely the sexual organs; Dr. Holder says that the thighs "really, or to my fancy," had the feminine rotundity. He has heard a *boté* "beg a male Indian to submit to his caress," and he tells that "one little fellow, while in the agency boarding-school, was found frequently surreptitiously wearing female attire. He was punished, but finally escaped from school and became a *boté*, which vocation he has since followed."

Among the Sakalaves of Madagascar there are certain boys, called *sekatra*, as described by Lasnet, who are apparently chosen from childhood on account of weak or delicate appearance and brought up as girls. They live like women and have intercourse with men, with or without sodomy, paying the men who please them.¹

The *sarimbavy*, found among the Hovas of Madagascar, and described by Rencurel,² resemble the *sekatra*, but sexual relations are rarely found among them; when they do occur, intercrural connection takes place. The *sarimbavy* have sometimes been brought up as girls because their parents desired to have a girl, but in other cases the impulse toward feminine habits and vocations arises and persists in spite of the parents' opposition. The *sarimbavy* shun the society of boys, and associate with girls, and as they grow up wear their hair long and fastened in a knot; they follow women's occupations, dress in women's clothes, and epilate their chins. They show no traces of physical abnormality, no infantilism, and the sexual organs are properly developed. The shoulders are, however, rounded, the muscular system soft

¹ *Annales d'Hygiène et de Médecine Coloniales*, 1899, p. 494, summarized in *Revue de Psychiatrie*, December, 1900.

² *Annales d'Hygiène*, etc., 1900, p. 562, and also summarized in the *Revue de Psychiatrie*.

and covered by adipose tissue. The voice, also, resembles that of the eunuch; the inflection and timbre are those of a woman; and the laugh shrill. This appears to be due to unconscious imitation. The *sarimbavy* are gentle and timid, and very modest. Although constantly living with women, they have no sexual impulses; erections are rare, and when sexual intercourse takes place, it is only at the woman's insistence, and fails to produce agreeable sensations. There appears to be no decided sexual impulse either in a normal or an abnormal direction, and Rencurel considers that the *sarimbavy* may be regarded as a group apart: that of *asexual inverts*.

In Central Africa pederasty appears to be extremely rare, although some cases of *effeminatio* and passive pederasty have been reported from Unyamwezi and Uganda. But among the negro population of Zanzibar forms of homosexuality which are believed to be congenital (as well as acquired forms) are said to be fairly common. Their frequency is doubtless due to Arab influence. The male congenital inverts show, from their earliest years, no aptitude for men's occupations, but are attracted toward female occupations. As they grow older they wear women's clothes, dress their hair in women's fashion, and behave altogether like women. They associate only with women and with male prostitutes, and they obtain sexual satisfaction by passive pederasty or in ways simulating coitus. In appearance they resemble ordinary male prostitutes, who are common in Zanzibar, but it is noteworthy that the natives make a clear distinction between them and men prostitutes. The latter are looked down on with contempt, while the former, as being what they are "by the will of God," are tolerated.¹ Congenital inversion has also been suspected in New Guinea.

I am indebted to Dr. Seligmann, of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, for the following notes of cases, encountered during his connection with the expedition, seeming to indicate either

¹ Oskar Baumann, "Conträre Sexual-Erscheinungen bei die Neger-Bevölkerung Zanzibars," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1899, H. 6, p. 668.

actual inversion or the basis of physical abnormality on which homosexuality might possibly develop:—

Hiro, a woman of 30, daughter of a Hula chief. On casual examination she seemed rather taller and less fat than the average Hula woman, with less rounded figure. The skin of the breasts seemed rather wrinkled, but the breasts themselves looked normally developed. The genitals are said to be normal and the mons hairy. As a little girl she always preferred playing boys' games, and by all accounts she played them well. As she got older she stuck to boys and their games, preferring them as companions, and avoiding her own sex. She refused to adopt the girls' petticoat for some time, but at puberty was compelled by threats to do so. She seems to have behaved normally as regards sexual matters, and about two years after onset of menses there was an abortion. She now works in the garden man-fashion, using heavy digging-sticks, and carries burdens man-fashion. She has refused at least three offers of marriage, and lives with her mother. As far as can be ascertained, she has never had any homosexual relationships, and since the abortion she seems to have had no normal sexual relationships, or, at all events, they have not been of sufficient duration to arrest public attention.

Gima, a man of about 30. He is said to take the passive part in *pedicatio*. He is masculine in appearance, active, plucky, energetic, without undue roundness of figure or deposits of fat. He is said to be tattooed over the buttocks and thighs as women are. Homosexual practices are said to have begun at puberty. Later he married, but has no children; divorced his wife on the plea of infidelity.

Umase, a man of 50, of the Garia tribe, apes the women in domestic, social, and planting work. He is not married. The genitals are said to be normal, but small, and breasts are normal. There is hair on chest and pubes. The voice is high-pitched. He associates with women and accompanies women in trading. He never hunts, but is a warrior and successful homicide. In youth he is said to have been normally sexual.

The three foregoing observations were made in British New Guinea. In Sarawak (Borneo) Dr. Seligmann met with a Mohammedan of 30 who was said to take the passive part in *pedicatio*. He is rather small-boned and of delicate build, but not under-sized. He wears a lace mantilla over his head after the manner of prostitutes, and is said to wear women's clothes entirely at times. His voice is soft, but not shrill. He prefers to mix with women, always sits with them in the house when he can, and works with them in the paddy fields, etc. He makes clothes well. Breasts and genitals are said to be normal. He is not married and is said not to have any normal sexual relationships.

These various accounts are of considerable interest, but for the most part their precise significance remains doubtful, al-

though Dr. Holder's careful description of the *boté* and Dr. Baumann's account of homosexual phenomena in Zanzibar clearly suggest a congenital element. All such customs render possible the existence of true congenital inversion. But they do not always prove it, and observers have generally failed to inquire into the crucial points. On the whole, the evidence shows that among lower races homosexual practices are regarded with considerable indifference, and the real invert, if he exists among them, as doubtless he does exist, generally passes unperceived or joins some sacred caste which sanctifies his exclusively homosexual inclinations.

Even in Europe to-day a considerable lack of repugnance to homosexual practices may be found among the lower classes. In this matter, as folklore shows in so many other matters, the uncultured man of civilization is linked to the savage. In England, I am told, the soldier often has little or no objection to prostitute himself to the "swell" who pays him, although for pleasure he prefers to go to women; and Hyde Park is spoken of as a center of male prostitution.

"Among the working masses of England and Scotland," Q. writes, "'comradeship' is well marked, though not (as in Italy) very conscious of itself. Friends often kiss each other, though this habit seems to vary a good deal in different sections and coteries. Men commonly sleep together, whether comrades or not, and so easily get familiar. Occasionally, but not so very often, this relation delays for a time, or even indefinitely, actual marriage, and in some instances is highly passionate and romantic. There is a good deal of grossness, no doubt, here and there in this direction among the masses; but there are no male prostitutes (that I am aware of) whose regular clients are manual workers. This kind of prostitution in London is common enough, but I have only a slight personal knowledge of it. Many youths are 'kept' handsomely in apartments by wealthy men, and they are, of course, not always inaccessible to others. Many keep themselves in lodgings by this means, and others eke out scanty wages by the same device: just like women, in fact. Choir-boys reinforce the ranks to a considerable extent, and private soldiers to a large extent. Some of the barracks (notably Knightsbridge) are great centres. On summer evenings Hyde Park and the neighborhood of Albert Gate is full of guardsmen and others plying a lively trade, and with little disguise, in uniform or out. In these cases it sometimes only

amounts to a chat on a retired seat or a drink at a bar; sometimes recourse is had to a room in some known lodging-house, or to one or two hotels which lend themselves to this kind of business. In any case it means a covetable addition to Tommy Atkins's pocket-money." And Mr. Raffalovich, speaking of London, remarks: "The number of soldiers who prostitute themselves is greater than we are willing to believe. It is no exaggeration to say that in certain regiments the presumption is in favor of the venality of the majority of the men." It is worth noting that there is a perfect understanding in this matter between soldiers and the police, who may always be relied upon by the former for assistance and advice. I am indebted to my correspondent "Z," for the following notes: "Soldiers are no less sought after in France than in England or in Germany, and special houses exist for military prostitution both in Paris and the garrison-towns. Many facts known about the French army go to prove that these habits have been contracted in Algeria, and have spread to a formidable extent through whole regiments. The facts related by Ulrichs about the French foreign legion, on the testimony of a credible witness who had been a pathic in his regiment, deserve attention (*Ara Spei*, p. 20; *Memnon*, p. 27). This man, who was a German, told Ulrichs that the Spanish, French, and Italian soldiers were the lovers, the Swiss and German their beloved (see also General Brosier's Report, quoted by Burton, *Arabian Nights*, volume x, p. 251). In Lucien Descaves's military novel, *Sous Offs* (Paris, Tresse et Stock, 1890), some details are given regarding establishments for male prostitution. See pages 322, 412, and 417 for description of the drinking-shop called 'Aux Amis de l'Armée,' where a few maids were kept for show, and also of its frequenters, including, in particular, the Adjutant Laprévotte. Ulrichs reports that in the Austrian army lectures on homosexual vices are regularly given to cadets and conscripts (*Memnon*, p. 26). A soldier who had left the army told a friend of mine that he and many of his comrades had taken to homosexual indulgences when abroad on foreign service in a lonely station. He kept the practice up in England 'because the women of his class were so unattractive.' The captain of an English man-of-war said that he was always glad to send his men on shore after a long cruise at sea, never feeling sure how far they might not all go if left without women for a certain space of time." I may add that A. Hamon (*La France Sociale et Politique*, 1891, pp. 653-55; also in his *Psychologie du Militaire Professionnel*, Chapter X) gives details as to the prevalence of pederasty in the French army, especially in Algeria; he regards it as extremely common, although the majority are free. A fragment of a letter by General Lamoricière (speaking of Marshal Changarnier) is quoted: *En Afrique nous en étions tous, mais lui en est resté ici.*

This primitive indifference is doubtless also a factor in the prevalence of homosexuality among criminals, although here, it must be remembered, two other factors (congenital abnormality and the isolation of imprisonment) have to be considered. In Russia Tarnowsky observes that all pederasts are agreed that the common people are tolerably indifferent to their sexual advances, which they call "gentlemen's games." A correspondent remarks on "the fact, patent to all observers, that simple folk not infrequently display no greater disgust for the abnormalities of sexual appetite than they do for its normal manifestations."¹ He knows of many cases in which men of lower class were flattered and pleased by the attentions of men of higher class, although not themselves inverted. And from this point of view the following case, which he mentions, is very instructive:—

A pervert whom I can trust told me that he had made advances to upward of one hundred men in the course of the last fourteen years, and that he had only once met with a refusal (in which case the man later on offered himself spontaneously) and only once with an attempt to extort money. Permanent relations of friendship sprang up in most instances. He admitted that he looked after these persons and helped them with his social influence and a certain amount of pecuniary support—setting one up in business, giving another something to marry on, and finding places for others.

Among the peasantry in Switzerland, I am informed, homosexual relationships are not uncommon before marriage, and such relationships are lightly spoken of as "Dummheiten." No doubt, similar traits might be found in the peasantry of other parts of Europe.

What may be regarded as true sexual inversion can be traced in Europe from the beginning of the Christian era (though we can scarcely demonstrate the congenital element) especially among two classes—men of exceptional ability and criminals; and also, it may be added, among those neurotic and degenerate

¹ In further illustration of this I have been told that among the common people there is often no feeling against connection with a woman *per anum*.

individuals who may be said to lie between these two classes, and on or over the borders of both. Homosexuality, mingled with various other sexual abnormalities and excesses, seems to have flourished in Rome during the empire, and is well exemplified in the persons of many of the emperors.¹ Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Commodus, and Heliogabalus—many of them men of great ability and, from a Roman standpoint, great moral worth—are all charged, on more or less solid evidence, with homosexual practices. In Julius Cæsar—"the husband of all women and the wife of all men"—excess of sexual activity seems to have accompanied, as is sometimes seen, an excess of intellectual activity. He was first accused of homosexual practices after a long stay in Bithynia with King Nikomedes, and the charge was very often renewed. Cæsar was proud of his physical beauty, and, like many modern inverts, he was accustomed carefully to shave and epilate his body to preserve the smoothness of the skin. Hadrian's love for his beautiful slave Antinous is well known; the love seems to have been deep and mutual, and Antinous has become immortalized, partly by the romance of his obscure death and partly by the new and strangely beautiful type which he has given to sculpture. Heliogabalus seems to have been a true sexual invert of feminine type; he dressed as a woman and was devoted to the men he loved.

Homosexual practices everywhere flourish and abound among prisoners. There is abundant evidence on this point. I will only bring forward the evidence of Dr. H. D. Wey, the physician to the Elmira Reformatory, New York. He writes to me: "Sexuality is one of the most troublesome elements with which we have to contend. I have no data as to the number of prisoners here who are sexually perverse. In my pessimistic moments I should feel like saying that all were; but probably 80 per cent. would be a fair estimate." And, referring to the

¹ Chevalier (*L'Inversion Sexuelle*, pp. 85-106) brings forward a considerable amount of evidence regarding pederasty at Rome under the emperors. See also Moll, *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, 1899, pp. 55-66.

sexual influence which some men have over others, he remarks that "there are many men with features suggestive of femininity that attract others to them in a way that reminds me of a bitch in heat followed by a pack of dogs."¹

Prison-life develops and fosters the homosexual tendency of criminals; but there can be little doubt that that tendency, or else a tendency to sexual indifference (psychosexual hermaphroditism), is a radical character of a very large number of criminals. We may also find it to a considerable extent among tramps, an allied class of undoubted degenerates, who, save for brief seasons, are less familiar with prison-life. I am able to bring forward interesting evidence on this point by an acute observer who has lived much among tramps in various countries, and has largely devoted himself to the study of them.²

The fact that homosexuality is especially common among men of exceptional intellect was long since noted by Dante:—

In somma sappi, che tutti fur cherci
E litterati grandi, et di gran fama
D'un medesimo peccato al mondo lerci.*

¹ The following note has been furnished to me: "Balzac, in *Une Dernière Incarnation de Vautrin*, describes the morals of the French bagnés. Dostoieffsky, in *Prison-life in Siberia*, touches on the same subject. See his portrait of Sirotkin, pp. 52 *et seq.*, p. 120 (edition J. and R. Maxwell, London). We may compare Carlier, *Les Deux Prostitutions*, pp. 300-1, for an account of the violence of homosexual passions in French prisons. The initiated are familiar with the fact in English prisons. Bouchard, in his *Confessions* (Paris, Liseux, 1881), describes the convict station at Marseilles in 1630."

² See Appendix A: "Homosexuality among Tramps," by "Josiah Flynt."

³ *Inferno*, XV. I may here refer to my own observations on this point in the preface. Mantegazza (*Gli Amori degli Uomini*) remarks that in his own restricted circle he is acquainted with "a French publicist, a German poet, an Italian statesman, and a Spanish jurist, all men of exquisite taste and highly-cultivated mind," who are sexually inverted. Krafft-Ebing, in the preface to his *Psychopathia Sexualis*, referring to the "numberless" communications he has received from these "step-children of Nature," remarks that "the majority of the writers are men of high intellectual and social position, and often possess very keen emotions." Raffalovich (*Uranisme*, p. 197) names among distinguished inverts Alexander the Great, Socrates, Sophocles, Pindar, Pheidias, Epaminondas, Virgil, the great Condé, Prince Eugene, etc. The question of Virgil's inversion is discussed in the *Revista di Filologia*, 1890, fas. 7-9, but I have not been able to see this review.

It has not, I think, been noted—largely because the evidence was insufficiently clear—that among religious or moral leaders, and other persons with strong ethical instincts, there is a tendency toward the more elevated forms of homosexual feeling. This may be traced, not only in some of the great moral teachers of old, but also in men and women of our own day. It is fairly evident why this should be so. Just as the repressed love of a woman or a man has, in normally constituted persons, frequently furnished the motive power for an enlarged philanthropic activity, so the person who sees his own sex also bathed in sexual glamour brings to his work of human service an ardor wholly unknown to the normally constituted individual; morality to him has become one with love. I am not prepared here to insist on this point, but no one, I think, who studies sympathetically the histories and experiences of great moral leaders can fail in many cases to note the presence of this feeling, more or less finely sublimated from any gross physical manifestation.

In modern Europe we find the strongest evidence of the presence of what may fairly be called true sexual inversion when we investigate the men of the Renaissance. The intellectual independence of those days and the influence of antiquity seem to have liberated and fully developed the impulses of those abnormal individuals who would otherwise have found no clear expression, and passed unnoticed.¹ Muret, for instance, a distinguished French humanist, was throughout his whole life the victim of his own homosexual impulses. He taught philosophy and civil law at Paris to crowds of students, but was charged with unnatural crime and thrown into the Châtelet. He resolved to starve himself to death, but, on being liberated by the help of influential friends, he went to Toulouse and taught Roman law until once more he was accused of an unnatural offense with a young man, and the two were condemned to be burned. Muret escaped, however, and fled to Italy, where he

¹ "Italian literature," remarks Symonds, "can show the *Rime Burlesche*, Beccadelli's *Hermaphroditus*, the *Canti Carnascialeschi*, the Macaronic poems of Fidentius, and the remarkably outspoken romance entitled *Alcibiade Fanciullo a Scuola*."

became the friend of many distinguished men, although similar charges pursued him to the last. Michelangelo, one of the very chief artists of the Renaissance period, we cannot now doubt, was sexually inverted. The evidence furnished by his own letters and poems, as well as the researches of numerous recent workers,—Parlagreco, Scheffler, J. A. Symonds, etc.,—may be said to have placed this beyond question.¹ He belonged to a family of five brothers, four of whom never married, and so far as is known left no offspring; the fifth only left one male heir. His biographer describes Michelangelo as "a man of peculiar, not altogether healthy, nervous temperament." He was indifferent to women; only in one case, indeed, 'during his long life is there evidence even of friendship with a woman, while he was very sensitive to the beauty of men, and his friendships were very tender and enthusiastic. At the same time there is no reason to suppose that he formed any physically passionate relationships with men, and even his enemies seldom or never made this accusation against him. We may probably accept the estimate of his character given by one of his latest biographers:—

Michelangelo Buonarroti was one of those exceptional, but not uncommon, men who are born with sensibilities abnormally deflected from the ordinary channel. He showed no partiality for women, and a notable enthusiasm for the beauty of young men. . . . He was a man of physically frigid temperament, extremely sensitive to beauty of the male type, who habitually philosophized his emotions, and contemplated the living objects of his admiration as amiable, not only for their personal qualities, but also for their esthetical attractiveness.²

A temperament of this kind seems to have had no significance for the men of those days; they were blind to all homosexual emotion which had no result in sodomy. Plato found

¹ See Parlagreco, *Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Naples, 1888; Ludwig von Scheffler, *Michelangelo, Ein Renaissance Studie*, 1892; *Archivo di Psichiatria*, vol. xv, fasc. i, ii, p. 129; J. A. Symonds, *Life of Michelangelo*, 1893; Dr. Jur. Numa Praetorius, "Michel Angelo's Urningtum," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, B. 2, 1899, pp. 254-267.

² J. A. Symonds, *Life of Michelangelo*, vol. ii, p. 384.

such attraction a subject for sentimental metaphysics, but it was not until nearly our own time that it again became a subject of interest and study. Yet it undoubtedly had profound influence on Michelangelo's art, impelling him to find every kind of human beauty in the male form, and only a grave dignity or tenderness, divorced from every quality that is sexually desirable, in the female form. This deeply rooted abnormality is at once the key to the melancholy of Michelangelo and to the mystery of his art. His contemporary, the painter Bazzi, seems also to have been radically inverted, and to this fact he owed his nickname Sodoma. As, however, he was married and had children, it may be that he was what we should now call a psychosexual hermaphrodite. He was a great artist who has been dealt with unjustly, partly, perhaps, because of the prejudice of Vasari,—whose admiration for Michelangelo amounted to worship, but who is contemptuous toward Sodoma and grudging of praise,—partly because his work is little known out of Italy and not very easy of access there. Reckless, unbalanced, and eccentric in his life, Sodoma, if we may judge him by the interesting portrait in the Pitti Palace, was a man of neurotic type, full of nervous energy, and of deeply melancholic temperament. In his painting there is a peculiar feminine softness and warmth, and a very marked and tender feeling for masculine, but scarcely virile, beauty.

In the seventeenth century a notable Flemish sculptor, Jérôme Duquesnoy (whose still more distinguished brother François executed the Manneken Pis in Brussels), was an invert; having finally been accused of sexual relations with a youth in a chapel of the Ghent Cathedral, where he was executing a monument for the bishop, he was strangled and burned, notwithstanding that much influence, including that of the bishop, was brought to bear in his behalf.¹

¹ See the interesting account of Duquesnoy by Eckhoud (*Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, B. 2, 1899), an eminent Belgian novelist who has himself lately been subjected to prosecution on account of the pictures of homosexuality in his novels and stories, *Escal-Vigor* and *Le Cycle Patibulaire*.

In more recent times Winkelmann, who was the initiator of a new Greek Renaissance and of the modern appreciation of ancient art, lies under what seems to be a well-grounded suspicion of sexual inversion. His letters to male friends are full of the most passionate expressions of love. His violent death also appears to have been due to a love-adventure with a man. The murderer was a cook, a wholly uncultivated man, a criminal who had already been condemned to death, and shortly before murdering Winkelmann for the sake of plunder he was found to be on very intimate terms with him.¹ It is noteworthy that sexual inversion should so often be found associated with the study of antiquity. It must not, however, be too hastily concluded that this is due to suggestion and that to abolish the study of Greek literature and art would be largely to abolish sexual inversion. What has really occurred in those recent cases that may be studied, and therefore without doubt in the older cases, is that the subject of congenital sexual inversion is attracted to the study of Greek antiquity because he finds there the explanation and the apotheosis of his own obscure impulses. Undoubtedly that study tends to develop these impulses.

In English history we find many traces of homosexual

¹ See Justi's *Life of Winkelmann*, and also Moll's *Die Konträre Sexualempfindung*, third edition, 1899, pp. 122-126. In this work, as well as in Raffalovich's *Uranisme et Unisexualité*, there will be found some account of many eminent men who are, on more or less reliable grounds, suspected of homosexuality. Other German writers brought forward as inverted by Moll and Raffalovich are Platen, K. P. Moritz, and Ifland. Platen was clearly a congenital invert, who sought, however, the satisfaction of his impulses in Platonic friendship; his homosexual poems and the recently-published unabridged edition of his diary render him an interesting object of study; see for a sympathetic account of him, Ludwig Frey, "Aus dem Seelenleben des Grafen Platen," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, B. 1, 1898, pp. 159-214. Raffalovich also traces homosexual episodes in the lives of Goethe, Molière, Montaigne, Alfieri, Casanova, etc. These writers also refer in the same connection to various kings and potentates, including the Sultan Baber; Henri III of France; Edward II, William II, James I, and William III of England, and perhaps Queen Anne and George III, Frederick the Great and his brother Heinrich, Popes Paul II, Sixtus IV, and Julius II, Ludwig II of Bavaria, and others. Kings seem peculiarly inclined to homosexuality. In this connection we may remember that, as Jacoby and many others have shown, monarchical families are much subject to degeneration.

practices. In Norman times it seems to have flourished, as it always has wherever the Normans have gone. William Rufus was undoubtedly inverted. Edward II and James I were certainly abnormally attracted to their own sex.¹ Marlowe, whose most powerful drama, *Edward II*, is devoted to a picture of the relations between that king and his minions, is himself suspected of homosexuality. An ignorant informer brought certain charges of freethought and criminality against him, and further accused him of asserting that they are fools who love not boys. These charges have doubtless been colored by the vulgar channel through which they passed, but it seems absolutely impossible to regard them as the inventions of a mere gallows-bird such as this informer was.² Moreover, Marlowe's poetic work, while it shows him by no means insensitive to the beauty of women, also reveals a special and peculiar sensitiveness to masculine beauty. Marlowe clearly had a reckless delight in all things unlawful, and it seems probable that he possessed the psychosexual hermaphrodite's temperament. Shakespeare has also been discussed from this point of view. All that can be said, however, is that he addressed a long series of sonnets to a youthful male friend. These sonnets are written in lover's language of a very tender and noble order. They do not appear to imply any relationship that the writer regarded as shameful or that would be so regarded by the world. Moreover, they seem to represent but a single episode in the life of a very sensitive, many-sided nature.³ There is no other evidence in Shakespeare's work of homosexual instinct such as we may trace throughout Marlowe's, while there

¹ Raffalovich very properly calls attention to the extraordinary manner in which the biographer of James I, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has been allowed to suppress the evidence for that monarch's homosexual practices, and to treat him as a model of personal purity in the most conventional sense.

² See appendix to my edition of Marlowe in the *Mermaid Series*, first edition. For a study of Marlowe's "Gaveston," regarded as "the hermaphrodite in soul," see J. A. Nicklin, *Free Review*, December, 1895.

³ As Raffalovich acutely points out, the twentieth sonnet, with its reference to the "one thing to my purpose nothing," is alone enough to show that Shakespeare was not a genuine invert, as then he would have found the virility of the loved object beautiful.

is abundant evidence of a constant preoccupation with women. It is remarkable that, while Shakespeare thus narrowly escapes inclusion in the list of inverts, his great contemporary, Lord Bacon, according to Aubrey's statement in *Short Lives*, was a pederast.

A minor Elizabethan lyrical poet, whose work has had the honor of being confused with Shakespeare's, Richard Barnfield, appears to have possessed the temperament, at least, of the invert. His poems to male friends are of so impassioned a character that they aroused the protests of a very tolerant age. Very little is known of Barnfield's life; he was a country gentleman of means, who retired to his estate in Shropshire and apparently died unmarried. At a somewhat earlier period an eminent humanist and notable pioneer in dramatic literature, Nicholas Udall, to whom is attributed *Ralph Roister Doister*, the first English comedy, stands out as unquestionably addicted to homosexual tastes, although he has left no literary evidence of this tendency. He was an early adherent of the Protestant movement, and when head-master of Eton he was noted for his love of inflicting corporal punishment on the boys. Tusser says he once received from Udall fifty-three stripes for "fault but small or none at all." Here there was evidently a sexual sadistic impulse, for in 1541 (the year of *Ralph Roister Doister*) Udall was charged with unnatural crime, and confessed his guilt before the Privy Council. He was dismissed from the head-mastership and imprisoned, but only for a short time, "and his reputation," his modern biographer states, "was not permanently injured." He retained the vicarage of Braintree, and was much favored by Edward VI, who nominated him to a prebend of Windsor. Queen Mary was also favorable and he became head-master of Westminster School.¹ In more recent times Byron has frequently been referred to as experiencing homosexual affections, and I have been informed that some of his poems nominally addressed to women were really inspired by men. It is certain that he experienced very strong emotions toward his male

¹These particulars are taken from the article on Udall in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

friends. "My school-friendships," he wrote, "were with me passions." When he afterward met one of these friends, Lord Clare, in Italy, he was painfully agitated, and could never hear the name without a beating of the heart. At the age of 22 he formed one of his strong attachments for a youth to whom he left £7000 in his will. It is probable, however, that here, as well as in the case of Shakespeare, and in that of Tennyson's love for his youthful friend Arthur Hallam, although such strong friendships may involve an element of sexual emotion, we have no true and definite homosexual impulse; homosexuality is merely simulated by the ardent and hyperesthetic emotions of the poet. The same quality of the poet's emotional temperament may doubtless, also, be invoked in the case of Goethe, who is said to have written elegies which, on account of their homosexual character, still remain unpublished.

A great personality of our own time, who has been widely regarded with reverence as the prophet-poet of Democracy¹—Walt Whitman—has aroused discussion by his sympathetic attitude toward passionate friendship, or "manly love" as he calls it, in *Leaves of Grass*. In this book—in "Calamus," "Drumtaps," and elsewhere—Whitman celebrates a friendship in which physical contact and a kind of silent voluptuous emotion are essential elements. In order to settle the question as to the precise significance of "Calamus," J. A. Symonds wrote to Whitman, frankly posing the question. The answer (written from Camden, N. J., on August 19, 1890) is the only statement of Whitman's attitude toward homosexuality, and it is therefore desirable that it should be set on record:—

"About the questions on 'Calamus,' etc., they quite daze me. *Leaves of Grass* is only to be rightly construed by and within its own atmosphere and essential character—all its pages and pieces so coming

¹ It is as such that Whitman should be approached, and I would desire to protest against the tendency, now marked in many quarters, to treat him merely as an invert, and to vilify him or glorify him accordingly. However important inversion may be as a psychological key to Whitman's personality, it plays but a small part in Whitman's work, and for many who care for that work a negligible part.

strictly under. That the 'Calamus' part has ever allowed the possibility of such construction as mentioned is terrible. I am fain to hope that the pages themselves are not to be even mentioned for such gratuitous and quite at the time undreamed and unwished possibility of morbid inferences—which are disavowed by me and seem damnable."

It seems from this that Whitman had never realized that there is any relationship whatever between the passionate emotion of physical contact from man to man, as he had experienced it and sung it, and the act which with other people he would regard as a crime against nature. This may be singular, for there are many inverted persons who have found satisfaction in friendships less physical and passionate than those described in *Leaves of Grass*, but Whitman was a man of concrete, emotional, instinctive temperament, lacking in analytical power, receptive to all influences, and careless of harmonizing them.¹ He

¹ I should add that some friends and admirers of Whitman are not prepared to accept the evidence of this letter. I am indebted to "Q." for the following statement of the objections:—

"I think myself that it is a mistake to give much weight to this letter—perhaps a mistake to introduce it at all, since if introduced it will, of course, carry weight. And this for three or four reasons:—

"1. That it is difficult to reconcile the letter itself (with its strong tone of disapprobation) with the general 'atmosphere' of *Leaves of Grass*, the tenor of which is to leave everything open and free.

"2. That the letter is in hopeless conflict with the 'Calamus' section of poems. For, whatever moral lines Whitman may have drawn at the time of writing these poems, it seems to me quite incredible that the possibility of certain inferences, morbid or other, was undreamed of.

"3. That the letter was written only a few months before his last illness and death, and is the only expression of the kind that he appears to have given utterance to.

"4. That Symonds's letter, to which this was a reply, is not forthcoming; and we consequently do not know what rash expressions it may have contained—leading Whitman (with his extreme caution) to hedge his name from possible use to justify dubious practices."

I may add that I endeavored to obtain Symonds's letter, but he was unable to produce it, nor has any copy of it been found among his papers.

It should be said that Whitman's attitude toward Symonds was marked by high regard and admiration. "A wonderful man is Addington Symonds," he remarked shortly before his own death; "some ways the most indicative and penetrating and significant man of our time. Symonds is a curious fellow; I love him dearly. He is of college breed and education, horribly literary and suspicious, and enjoys things. A great fellow for delving into persons and into the concrete, and even into the physiological and the gastric, and wonderfully cute." But on this occasion he delved in vain.

would most certainly have refused to admit that he was the subject of inverted sexuality. It remains true, however, that "manly love" occupies in his work a predominance which it would scarcely hold in the feelings of the "average man," whom Whitman wishes to honor. A normally constituted person, having assumed the very frank attitude taken up by Whitman, would be impelled to devote far more space and far more ardor to the subject of sexual relationships with women and all that is involved in maternity than is accorded to them in *Leaves of Grass*. Some of Whitman's extant letters to young men, though they do not throw definite light on this question, are of a very affectionate character,¹ and, although a man of remarkable physical vigor, he never felt inclined to marry.² It remains somewhat difficult to classify him from the sexual point of view, but we can scarcely fail to recognize the presence of a homosexual tendency, or tendency to psychosexual hermaphroditism, however latent and unconscious.

Concerning another great writer whose name may be mentioned without impropriety—Paul Verlaine, the first of modern French poets—it is possible to speak with less hesitation. A man who possessed in fullest measure the irresponsible impressionability of genius, Verlaine—as his work shows and as he himself admitted—all his life oscillated between normal and homosexual love, at one period attracted to women, at another to men. He was without doubt a psychosexual hermaphrodite. An early connection with another young poet, Arthur Rimbaud, terminated in a violent quarrel with his friend, and led to Verlaine's imprisonment at Mons. In after-years he gave expression to the exalted passion of this relationship—*mon grand péché radieux*—in *Læti et Errabundi*, published in the volume entitled *Parallèlement*; and in later poems he has told of less passionate and less sensual relationships which were yet more

¹ Whitman's letters to Peter Doyle, an uncultured young workman, deeply loved by the poet, have been edited by Dr. Bucke, and published at Boston.

² It appears, however, that he acknowledged having had several children.

than friendship, for instance, in the poem "*Mon ami, ma plus belle amitié, ma meilleure,*" in *Bonheur*. I may quote, as of some psychological interest, a few stanzas from *Ces Passions*, in *Parallèlement*:—

Ces passions qu'eux seuls nomment encore amours
Sont des amours aussi, tendres et furieuses,
Avec des particularités curieuses
Que n'ont pas les amours certes de tous les jours.

Même plus qu'elles et mieux qu'elles héroïques,
Elles se parent de splendeurs d'âme et de sang
Telles qu'au prix d'elles les amours dans le rang
Ne sont que Ris et Jeux ou besoins érotiques,

Que vains proverbes, que riens d'enfants trop gâtés.
"Ah! les pauvres amours banales, animales,
Normales! Gros goûts lourds ou frugales fringales
Sans compter la sottise et des fécondités!"

In this brief glance at some of the ethnographical, historical, and literary aspects of homosexual passion there is one other phenomenon which must be mentioned. This is the curious fact that, while this phenomenon exists to some extent everywhere, we seem to find a special proclivity to homosexuality (whether or not involving a greater frequency of congenital inversion is not usually clear) among certain races and in certain regions.¹

¹ Sir Richard Burton, who devoted special attention to this point, regarded the phenomenon as "geographical and climatic, not racial." His conclusions may thus be stated in his own words:—

"1. There exists what I shall call a 'Sotadic Zone,' bounded westward by the northern shores of the Mediterranean (N. lat., 43°) and by the southern (N. lat., 30°). Thus, the depth would be 780 to 800 miles, including meridional France, the Iberian peninsula, Italy and Greece, with the coast-regions of Africa from Morocco to Egypt.

"2. Running eastward the Sotadic Zone narrows, embracing Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Afghanistan, Sind, the Punjab, and Kashmir.

"3. In Indo-China the belt begins to broaden, infolding China, Japan, and Turkestan.

"4. It then embraces the South-Sea Islands and the New World, where at the time of its discovery, Sotadic love was, with some exceptions, an established racial institution.

"5. Within the Sotadic Zone the vice is popular and endemic, held

In Europe it is probably best illustrated by the case of southern Italy, which in this respect is totally distinct from northern Italy, although Italians generally are franker than men of northern race in admitting their sexual practices. How far the homosexuality of southern Italy may be due to Greek influence and Greek blood it is not at present easy to say.

It must be remembered that, in dealing with a northern country, like England, homosexual phenomena do not present themselves in the same way as they do in southern Italy to-day, or in ancient Greece. In Greece the homosexual impulse was recognized and idealized; a man could be an open homosexual lover, and yet, like Epaminondas, be a great and honored citizen of his country. There was no reason whatever why a man who in mental and physical constitution was perfectly normal should not adopt a custom that was regarded as respectable, and sometimes as even specially honorable. But it is quite otherwise to-day in a country like England or the United States.¹ In these countries all our traditions and all our moral ideals, as well as the law, are energetically opposed to every manifestation of homosexual passion. It requires a very strong impetus to go against this compact social force which, on every side, constrains the individual into the paths of heterosexual love. That impetus, in a well-bred individual who leads the normal life of his

at the worst to be a mere peccadillo, while the races to the north and south of the limits here defined practice it only sporadically, amid the opprobrium of their fellows, who, as a rule, are physically incapable of performing the operation, and look upon it with the liveliest disgust." He adds: "The only physical cause for the practice which suggests itself to me, and that must be owned to be purely conjectural, is that within the Sotadic Zone there is a blending of the masculine and feminine temperaments, a crisis which elsewhere only occurs sporadically" (*Arabian Nights*, 1885, vol. x, pp. 205-254). The theory of the Sotadic Zone is interesting; but, as a critic has pointed out, it does not account for the custom among the Normans, Celts, Scythians, Bulgars, and Tartars, and, moreover, in various of these regions different views have prevailed at different periods. Burton was wholly unacquainted with the recent psychological investigations into sexual inversion.

¹ It is true that in the solitude of great modern cities it is possible for small homosexual coteries to form, in a certain sense, an environment of their own, favorable to their abnormality; yet this fact hardly modifies the general statement made in the text.

fellow-men and who feels the ordinary degree of respect for the social feeling surrounding him, can only be supplied by a fundamental—usually, it is probable, inborn—perversion of the sexual instinct, rendering the individual organically abnormal. It is with this fundamental abnormality, usually called sexual inversion, that we shall here be concerned. There is no evidence to show that homosexuality in Greece was a congenital perversion, although it appears that Cœlius Aurelianus affirms that in the opinion of Parmenides it was hereditary. Aristotle also, in his fragment on physical love, though treating the whole matter with indulgence, seems to have distinguished abnormal congenital homosexuality from acquired homosexual vice. Doubtless in a certain proportion of cases the impulse was organic, and it may well be that there was an organic and racial predisposition to homosexuality among the Greeks, or, at all events, the Dorians. But the state of social feeling, however it originated, induced a large proportion of the ordinary population to adopt homosexuality as a fashion. So that any given number of homosexual persons among the Greeks would have presented a far smaller proportion of constitutionally abnormal individuals than a like number in England. In a similar manner—though I do not regard the analogy as complete—infanticide or the exposition of children was practiced in some of the early Greek States by parents who were completely healthy and normal; in England a married woman who destroys her child is in nearly every case demonstrably diseased or abnormal. For this reason I am unable to see that homosexuality in ancient Greece—while of great interest as a social and psychological problem—throws light on sexual inversion as we know it in England or the United States.

Concerning the wide prevalence of sexual inversion and of homosexual phenomena generally, there can be no manner of doubt. In Berlin Moll states that he has himself seen between 600 and 700 homosexual persons and heard of some 250 to 350 others. I have much evidence as to its frequency both in England and the United States. In England, concerning which I can naturally speak with most assurance, its manifestations are well marked for those whose eyes have once been opened. In

the opinion of some it has become a much more conspicuous element in our midst during recent years, and this is sometimes attributed to the Oscar Wilde case. No doubt, the celebrity of Oscar Wilde and the universal publicity given to the facts of the case by the newspapers may have brought conviction of their perversion to many inverts who were before only vaguely conscious of their abnormality, and, paradoxical though it may seem, have imparted greater courage to others; but it can scarcely have sufficed to increase the number of inverts. Rather, one may say, the development of urban life renders easier the exhibition and satisfaction of this as of all other forms of perversion. Regarding the proportion of inverts among the general population, it is very difficult to speak positively. The invert himself is a misleading guide because he has formed round himself a special coterie of homosexual persons, and, moreover, he is sometimes apt to overestimate the number of inverts through the misinterpretation of small indications that are not always conclusive. The estimate of the ordinary normal person, feeling the ordinary disgust toward abnormal phenomena, is also misleading, because his homosexual acquaintances are careful not to inform him concerning their proclivities. A writer who has studied the phenomena of homosexuality is apt to be misguided in the same way as the invert himself, and to overestimate the prevalence of the perversion. Striving to put aside this source of fallacy, and only considering those individuals with whom I have been brought in contact by the ordinary circumstances of life, and with whose modes of feeling I am acquainted, I am still led to the conclusion that the proportion is considerable. Among the professional and most cultured element of the middle class in England, there must be a distinct percentage of inverts which may sometimes be as much as 5 per cent., though such estimates must always be hazardous. Among women of the same class the percentage seems to be at least double, though here the phenomena are less definite and deep-seated. This seems to be a moderate estimate for this class, which includes, however, it must be remembered, a considerable proportion of individuals who are somewhat abnormal in other

respects. As we descend the scale the phenomena are doubtless less common, though when we reach the working class we come on that comparative indifference to which allusion has already been made.

CHAPTER II.

THE STUDY OF SEXUAL INVERSION.

Westphal—Hüssli—Casper—Ulrichs—Tarnowsky—Krafft-Ebing—Moll—Schrenck-Notzing—Chevalier—Féré—Kiernan—Lydston—Rafalovich.

WESTPHAL, an eminent professor of psychiatry at Berlin, may be said to be the first to put the study of sexual inversion on an assured scientific basis. In 1870 he published, in the *Archiv für Psychiatrie*, of which he was for many years editor, the detailed history of a young woman who, from her earliest years, differed from other girls: she liked to dress as a boy, only cared for boys' games, and as she grew up was sexually attracted only to women, with whom she formed a series of tender relationships, in which the friends obtained sexual gratification by mutual caresses; while she blushed and was shy in the presence of women, more especially the girl with whom she chanced to be in love, she was always absolutely indifferent in the presence of men. Westphal combined keen scientific insight with a rare degree of personal sympathy for those who came under his care, and it was this combination of qualities which enabled him to grasp the true nature of a case such as this, which by most medical men at that time would have been hastily dismissed as a vulgar instance of vice or insanity. Westphal perceived that this abnormality was congenital, not acquired, so that it could not be termed vice; and, while he insisted on the presence of neurotic elements, his observations showed the absence of anything that could legitimately be termed insanity. He gave to this condition the name of "contrary sexual feeling" (*konträre Sexualempfindung*), by which it is to-day usually known in Germany. The way was thus made clear for the rapid progress of our knowledge of this abnormality. New cases were published in quick succession, at first exclusively in Germany, and more

especially in Westphal's *Archiv*, but soon in other countries also, chiefly Italy and France.¹

While Westphal was the first to place the study of sexual inversion on a progressive footing, many persons had previously obtained glimpses into the subject. Thus, in 1791, two cases were published² of men who showed a typical emotional attraction to their own sex, though it was not quite clearly made out that the inversion was congenital. In 1836, again, a Swiss writer, called Hössli, published a rather diffuse and tedious work, entitled *Eros*, which contained much material of a literary character bearing on this matter. He seems to have been moved to write this book by a trial which had excited considerable attention at that time. A man of good position had suddenly murdered a youth, and was executed for the crime, which, according to Hössli, was due to homosexual love and jealousy. Casper, the chief medico-legal authority of his time in Germany,—for it is in Germany that the foundations of the study of sexual inversion have been laid,—pointed out in 1852, in Casper's *Vierteljahrsschrift*, that pederasty, in a broad sense of the word, was sometimes due to a congenital psychic condition, and also that it by no means necessarily involved sodomy (*immissio penis in anum*). Casper brought forward a considerable amount of valuable evidence concerning these cardinal points, which he was the first to note, but he failed to realize the full significance of his observations, and they had no immediate influence.

The man, however, who has done more than anyone else to bring to light the phenomena of sexual inversion had not been concerned either with the medical or the criminal aspects of the matter. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (born in 1825 near Aurich), who for many years expounded and defended homosexual love, and whose views are said to have had some influence in drawing

¹ In England aberration of the sexual instinct, or the tendency of men to feminine occupations and of women to masculine occupations, had been referred to in the *Medical Times and Gazette*, February 9, 1867; Dr. Savage first described a case of "Sexual Perversion" in the *Journal of Mental Science*, vol. xxx, October, 1884.

² Moritz, *Magazine für Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, Berlin, B. 8.

Westphal's attention to the matter, was a Hanoverian legal official (*Amtsassessor*), himself sexually inverted. From 1864 onward, at first under the name of "Numa Numantius" and subsequently under his own name, Ulrichs published in various parts of Germany a long series of works dealing with this question, and made various attempts to obtain a revision of the legal position of the sexual invert in Germany.¹

Although not a writer whose psychological views can carry much scientific weight, Ulrichs appears to have been a man of most brilliant ability, and his knowledge is said to have been of almost universal extent; he was not only well versed in his own special subjects of jurisprudence and theology, but in many branches of natural science, as well as in archeology; he was also regarded by many as the best Latinist of his time. In 1880 he left Germany and settled in Naples, and afterward at Aquila in the Abruzzi, whence he issued a Latin periodical. He died in 1895.² For many years Ulrichs was alone in his efforts to gain scientific recognition for congenital homosexuality. He devised (with allusion to Uranos in Plato's *Symposium*) the word *urning*, ever since frequently used for the homosexual lover, while he called the normal heterosexual lover a *dioning* (from Dione). He regarded *uranism*, or homosexual love, as a congenital abnormality by which a female soul had become united with a male body—*anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa*—and his theoretical speculations have formed the starting-point for many similar speculations. His writings are remarkable in various respects, although, on account of the polemical warmth with which, as one pleading *pro domo*, he argued his cause, they have not had a marked influence on scientific thought.³

This privilege was reserved for Westphal. After he had shown the way and thrown open his journal for their publica-

¹ For a paraphrase of Ulrichs's opinions see Appendix B.

² For some account of Ulrichs see *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, B. 2, 1899, p. 36.

³ Ulrichs scarcely went so far as to assert that both homosexual and heterosexual love are equally normal and healthy; this has, however, been argued more recently. See Appendix C.

tion, new cases appeared in rapid succession. In Italy, also, Ritti, Tamassia, Lombroso, and others began to study these phenomena, and it seems to have been in Italy that the convenient term "sexual inversion" was first used.¹ When the matter was taken up in France the same term was used; in 1882 Charcot and Magnan published in the *Archives de Neurologie* the first important study which appeared in France concerning sexual inversion and allied sexual perversions. They regarded sexual inversion as an episode (*syndrome*) in a more fundamental process of hereditary degeneration, and compared it with such morbid obsessions as dipsomania and kleptomania. Magnan has since frequently observed and studied the phenomena of sexual inversion, both in his clinic at Sainte-Anne and in various periodicals, and some of his pupils, more especially Sérieux,² have brought valuable contributions to the subject. From a somewhat more medico-legal stand-point, the study of sexual inversion in France has been furthered by Brouardel, and still more by Lacassagne, who wrote the important article on "Pédérastie" in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*, and whose stimulating influence at Lyons has produced such fruitful results in the work of many pupils. From this point of view, also, Legludic has made a valuable contribution to the subject in his book *Notes et Observations de Médecine Légale: Attentats aux Mœurs* (Paris, 1896).

¹ In England, so far as I am aware, the term "inversion" was not used to indicate this class of cases of sexual perversion until the appearance of the first English edition of the present work (1897). Previously the term "sexual perversion" had been used to cover all classes of such cases (see, e.g., the article on this subject by Dr. Connolly Norman, in Tuke's *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*). I reserve the name "inversion" for those cases in which the sexual attraction to the same sex seems to be deep-rooted and organic, while applying the term "homosexuality" to the phenomena generally. Moll (*Konträre Sexualempfindung*, 1899, p. 33) wishes to restrict the term "inversion" to those cases in which there is a complete turning around of the sexual instinct, the man feeling in every respect as a woman, the woman in every respect as a man (i.e., the cases termed by Krafft-Ebing "effemination" and "viraginity"). There is something to be said for this, but it is always difficult to restrict the use of an existing term, and my own use of the terms "inversion" and "homosexuality," while fairly in harmony with existing usage, seems sufficiently clear and simple for practical purposes.

² Paul Sérieux, *Les Anomalies de l'Instinct Sexuel*, Paris, 1888.

During the last fifteen years the increased attention devoted to these phenomena, and the rapid growth of fresh observations, have led to various works devoted chiefly or entirely to sexual inversion. Thus, in 1885 Professor Tarnowsky, of St. Petersburg, published his work on the morbid manifestations of the sexual instinct, since translated into German and English. The book is of some interest from its facts, but it can scarcely be said that it greatly furthered the scientific study of sexual inversion. Tarnowsky's experience seems to have been of a somewhat special character. He insists chiefly on the effeminate and passive side of inversion in males. He fails to arrange the phenomena he has witnessed with much system or insight, and he does not sufficiently distinguish between male prostitution and sexual inversion as a psychological abnormality. He describes three kinds of congenital sexual inversion, all the outcome of a hereditarily enfeebled nervous system: the first chronic and persistent, the second periodical, the third epileptic.

Of much more importance in the history of the theory of sexual inversion is the work of Dr. R. von Krafft-Ebing. This writer, who stands at the head of Austrian psychiatric and medico-legal authorities, is now professor of psychiatry and nervous diseases at Vienna. Since 1877 he has taken an active interest in all the various forms of sexual perversion, and his great work, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, in its eleventh edition (1901), contains over two hundred histories; they are not all original cases, however, and they cover not only sexual inversion, but all forms of sexual perversion. *Psychopathia Sexualis* is the best-known work on this subject and the chief storehouse of facts.¹ Krafft-Ebing's methods are open to some objection. His mind is not of a severely critical order. He has poured out new and ever-enlarged editions of his great work with extraordinary rapidity, eleven having appeared in the course of nine years, while, during the same period, he issued at least two editions of a volume of

¹ An English translation, by Dr. C. G. Chaddock, was published by the F. A. Davis Company, of Philadelphia, some years ago, and an English translation of the tenth edition has more recently been published.

Neue Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Psychopathia Sexualis, containing material which has eventually been nearly all absorbed in the larger work. The various editions of this latter have been remodeled from time to time, and interesting material has sometimes been thrown out. Krafft-Ebing has constantly introduced new subdivisions into his classification of sexual perversions, and, although this rather fine-spun classification has doubtless contributed to give precision to the subject and to advance its scientific study, it certainly cannot be maintained in the future. Krafft-Ebing's great service lies in the clinical enthusiasm with which he has approached the study of sexual perversions. With the firm conviction that he is conquering a great neglected field of morbid psychology, which rightly belongs to the physician, he has accumulated without any false shame a vast mass of detailed histories, and his reputation has induced sexually abnormal individuals in all directions to send him their autobiographies, in the desire to benefit their fellow-sufferers.

It is as the great clinician of sexual inversion, rather than as its psychologist, that we must regard Krafft-Ebing. At the same time it is desirable to glance at his general attitude toward the phenomena. He regards inversion as a functional sign of degeneration, as a partial manifestation of a neuropathic and psychopathic state which is in most cases hereditary. Referring to the fact that the sexual organs of inverts are generally normal, he continues: "Here the cause can only be regarded as an anomaly of central conditions: an abnormal psychosexual predisposition. The anatomical and functional foundations of this predisposition are at present altogether obscure. Since in nearly every case the subject of the perverse sexual instinct exhibits a neuropathic taint in many respects, and this is connected with hereditary degenerative conditions, every anomaly of the psychosexual emotion must be described clinically as a functional sign of degeneration. This perverse sexuality appears spontaneously with the developing sexual life, without external causes, as the individual manifestation of an abnormal modification of the *vita sexualis*, and must then be regarded as a congenital phenomenon;

or it develops as a result of special injurious influences working on a sexuality which had at first been normal, and must then be regarded as an acquired phenomenon. On what this mysterious phenomenon, the acquired homosexual instinct, may rest, at present entirely escapes exploration, and belongs to the region of hypothesis. It is probable, from the careful investigation of so-called acquired cases, that the predisposition here consists in a latent homosexuality, or, at least, bisexuality, which requires for its manifestation the operation of accidental causes to awaken it from its slumber."¹

Krafft-Ebing divides acquired homosexuality into four stages: 1. Simple perversion of the sexual instinct. 2. *Eviratio* and *defeminatio*, in which the whole personality of the individual undergoes a change of disposition in harmony with the changed sexual instinct. 3. Transition to *metamorphosis sexualis paranoica*, in which the change is so complete as at times even to delude the subject into believing that there has been an actual physical change of sex. 4. *Metamorphosis sexualis paranoica*, involving systematic delusions as to a change of sex. Krafft-Ebing also recognizes four stages of the congenital form: 1. Psychosexual hermaphroditism, in which, while the homosexual instinct predominates, there are traces of the normal heterosexual instinct. 2. Homosexuality, in which the instinct goes out only toward the same sex. 3. *Effeminatio* and viraginity, in which the whole psychic disposition corresponds to the abnormal instinct. 4. *Androgynia* and *gynandria*, in which the general bodily form corresponds in some degree to the abnormal sexual instinct and psychic disposition.

In 1891 Dr. Albert Moll, of Berlin, published his work entitled *Die Konträre Sexualempfindung*. Subsequently it has been very much enlarged, and the third edition (1899), a volume of 650 pages, may be regarded as the most complete as well as the most judicious discussion of sexual inversion which has yet appeared. This is not due merely to the fact that Moll has pub-

¹ *Psychopathia Sexualis*, eighth edition, 1893, p. 188. (English translation of tenth edition, p. 271.)

lished a notable number of new cases. It is true that some of the most interesting and carefully detailed cases in the later editions of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* were supplied by Dr. Moll, who has not only been able to fall back on his own medical practice as a specialist in nervous diseases, but has received great assistance from the Berlin police, who have furnished him with much material of great interest; he has also had the valuable advice throughout of a distinguished German scholar who is himself sexually inverted. In this work, however, Moll refrains from merely presenting clinical material. He attacks the problem which, now that so much material has been accumulated, becomes of primary importance: the nature and causes of sexual inversion. He discusses the phenomena as a psychologist even more than as a doctor. For this task his previous able work on hypnotism shows that he was well qualified. Moll is accustomed always to bear in mind the broader scientific bearings of the problems he attacks. He is also a keen critic who rarely fails in acutely placing his finger on the weak points in accepted opinions, and he is judicially cautious in the statement of his conclusions. For the first time, Moll entirely clears away the ancient prejudices and superstitions surrounding sexual inversion, which even Krafft-Ebing had sometimes incautiously repeated. He accepts the generally received doctrine that the sexually inverted usually belong to families in which various nervous and mental disorders prevail (first edition, p. 160), but he points out at the same time (p. 162) that it is not in all cases possible to prove that we are concerned with individuals possessing a hereditary neurotic taint. He shows excellent judgment, also, in rejecting any minute classification of sexual inverts. He only recognizes psychosexual hermaphroditism and homosexuality. At the same time he casts doubt on the existence of acquired homosexuality, in a strict sense, except in occasional cases, and he points out, quite rightly, that even when a normal heterosexual impulse appears at puberty, and a homosexual impulse later, it may still be the former that was acquired and the latter that was inborn. Dealing with the supposed influence of "vice" in the causation of sexual inversion, he ridicules (perhaps too

hastily) the theory that excessive indulgence in women can produce an inclination toward men, while he regards the tendency of old men to gratify their lust with boys as due to incipient brain disease. No one who wishes to understand the nature of sexual inversion can afford to ignore Moll's discussion of the problem, inconclusive as in many respects he is compelled to leave it.¹

Several books have since appeared bearing on sexual inversion, although they are scarcely of equal importance to Krafft-Ebing's book or Moll's. In 1892 Baron von Schrenck-Notzing, of Munich, a physician who has occupied himself much with hypnotism, published a work entitled *Suggestionstherapie*, in which he argued that sexual perversions generally are largely caused by suggestion and may be cured by suggestion. He has produced a number of cases in point, and his work should not be neglected, but it is too much dominated by a single idea to be of great scientific value.

In 1893 Dr. J. Chevalier, a pupil of Lacassagne, and the author of an earlier study of slighter character, published a comprehensive work on all the various aspects of the matter entitled *L'Inversion Sexuelle*. It is written with much facility and considerable exuberance. The author is very well read in all the various aspects of his subject, and he presents the results of his reading in a copious and usually accurate manner. While, however, the book may be read with some profit, though containing little that is original, it cannot be recommended as a handbook to the study of sexual inversion. The writer is lacking in critical perception, and repeats without hesitation many of the old traditions which, since Moll's investigation of the subject, can no longer be accepted without proof.²

¹ There is no English translation of Moll's *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, though a French translation of an early edition has appeared. It is understood, however, that an English translation of Moll's *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*—a general discussion of both normal and abnormal sexual phenomena—is in progress.

² I may also refer to *Perversion et Perversité Sexuelles* (1896), by Dr. Laughton, of Lyons. This volume contains a long and remarkable autobiography, written by an invert, who sent it to Zola, hoping that the novelist would found a novel on his story.

The most judicious discussion of sexual inversion which has of late appeared in France is contained in Féré's study of the sexual instinct,¹ a work bringing forward valuable original documents to illustrate many sexual anomalies. Féré accepts the conclusion that there is a congenital element in inversion, and that, even when the inverted impulse appears to be acquired as the result of some experience during life, this experience must be regarded merely as an *agent provocateur* acting as an organic predisposition.

In America, Hammond, Kiernan, and Lydston, even before the publication of Krafft-Ebing's book, devoted study to this subject. I may refer especially to a lecture by Dr. G. Frank Lydston, of Chicago, on "Sexual Perversion,"¹ which contains the following classification of sexual inverts, in many respects superior to Krafft-Ebing's:—

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|---|---|---|
| I. Congenital and perhaps hereditary sexual perversion. | { | <p>(a) Sexual perversion without defect of structure of sexual organs.</p> <p>(b) Sexual perversion with defect of genital structure: <i>e.g.</i>, hermaphroditism.</p> <p>(c) Sexual perversion with obvious defect of cerebral development: <i>e.g.</i>, idiocy.</p> |
| II. Acquired sexual perversion. | { | <p>(a) Sexual perversion from pregnancy, the menopause, ovarian disease, hysteria, etc.</p> <p>(b) Sexual perversion from acquired cerebral disease, with or without recognized insanity.</p> <p>(c) Sexual perversion (?) from vice.</p> <p>(d) Sexual perversion from overstimulation of the nerves of sexual sensibility and the receptive sexual centres, incidental to sexual excesses and masturbation.</p> |

Dr. J. G. Kiernan, of Chicago, had previously suggested a

¹ Ch. Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel: Evolution et Dissolution*, Paris, 1899.

somewhat simpler classification: (1) those cases which originate in imperative conceptions; (2) those due to congenital defect; (3) those which are incident to insanity, periods of involution, and to neurotic states; (4) those which result from vice.¹

In England Mr. André Raffalovich has written in French and published at Lyons, in Lacassagne's *Bibliothèque de Criminologie, Uranisme et Unisexualité* (1896). This book deals chiefly with congenital inversion. Mr. Raffalovich publishes no new cases, but he clearly possesses a wide knowledge of the matter. His book contains many just and sagacious reflections on the nature and treatment of inversion, and the attitude of society toward perverted sexuality. The historical portions of the book, which are of special interest, deal largely with the remarkable prevalence of inversion in England, neglected by previous investigators. The writer's attitude toward homosexuality, as manifested in the "superior" inverts like Michelangelo and Plato, is somewhat sympathetic, and is, on the whole, philosophical rather than scientific. Raffalovich regards congenital inversion as a large and inevitable factor in human life, but, taking the Catholic stand-point, he condemns all sexuality, either heterosexual or homosexual, and urges the invert to restrain the physical manifestations of his instinct and to aim at an ideal of chastity. On the whole, it may be said that the book is the work of a thinker who has reached his own results in his own way, and those results bear an imprint of originality and freedom from tradition which make the book worthy of careful study, notwithstanding the absence of original observations or new facts.

About the same time a pamphlet entitled *Homogenic Love* (privately printed by Edward Carpenter at Manchester in 1894) frankly claimed sympathy for homosexuality. The writer of this little book criticised the current psychiatric views of inversion, and claimed that the laws of homosexual are the same as those of heterosexual love. He urged, however, that its spe-

¹ *Detroit Lancet*, 1884, and *Alienist and Neurologist*, April, 1891.

cial value lies in its capacity of being exalted to a higher and more spiritual level of affectionate comradeship, so fulfilling a beneficent social function.

Even the existence of such treatises as those of Krafft-Ebing and Moll is enough to show how rapidly the study of this subject has grown. A few years ago—for instance, when Dr. Paul Moreau wrote his *Aberrations du Sens Génésique*—sexual inversion was scarcely even a name. It was a loathsome and nameless vice, only to be touched with a pair of tongs, rapidly and with precautions. As it now presents itself, it is a psychological and medico-legal problem so full of interest that we need not fear to face it, and so full of grave social actuality that we are bound to face it.

CHAPTER III.

SEXUAL INVERSION IN MEN.

Relatively Undifferentiated State of the Sexual Impulse in Early Life—Homosexuality in Schools—Latent Inversion—Rarity of Acquired Homosexuality—Classification of the Varieties of Sexual Inversion—Simple Inversion—Cases I to XXX—Psychosexual Hermaphroditism—Cases XXXI to XXXVIII.

WHEN the sexual instinct first appears in early youth, it seems to be much less specialized than normally it becomes later. Not only is it, at the outset, less definitely directed to a specific sexual end, but even the sex of its object is sometimes uncertain.¹ This has always been so well recognized that those in authority over young men have sometimes forced women upon them to avoid the risk of possible unnatural offenses.²

The institution which presents these phenomena to us in the most marked and the most important manner is, naturally, the school, in England especially the public school. In France, where the same phenomena are noted, Tarde has called attention to these relationships, "most usually Platonic in the primitive

¹ Thus Godard described the little boys in Cairo as amusing themselves indifferently either with boys or girls in sexual play. (*Egypte et Palestine*, 1867, p. 105.) The same thing may be observed in England and elsewhere.

² "Bouchard, in his *Confessions*," writes one of my correspondents, "speaking of the Duc d'Orleans's pages at Paris in the seventeenth century, says that this was a 'cour extrêmement impie et débauchée, surtout pour les garçons. M. d'Orleans défendoit à ses pages de se besogner ni branler la pique; leur donnant au reste congé de voir les femmes tant qu'ils voudroient, et quelquefois venant de nuit heurter à la porte de leur chambre, avec cinq ou six garses, qu'ils enfermoient avec eux une heure à deux' (p. 38). This prince was of the same mind as Campanella, who, in the *Città del Sole*, laid it down that young men ought to be freely admitted to women, for the avoidance of sexual aberrations. Are­tino and Berni enable us to comprehend the sexual immorality of males congregated together in the courts of Roman prelates." The homosexuality of youth was also well recognized among the Romans, but they adopted the contrary course and provided means to gratify it, as the existence of the *conubinus*, referred to by Catullus, clearly shows.

meaning of the word, which indicate a simple indecision of frontier between friendship and love, still undifferentiated in the dawn of the awakening heart," and he regrets that no one has yet studied them. In England we are very familiar with vague allusions to the vices of public schools. From time to time we read letters in the newspapers denouncing public schools as "hot-beds of vice," and one anonymous writer remarks that "some of our public schools almost provoke the punishment of the cities of the Plain."¹ But, so far as I have been able to gather, these allegations have not been submitted to accurate investigation. The physicians and others connected with public schools who are in a position to study the matter possess no psychological training, and appear to view homosexuality with too much disgust to care to pay any careful attention to it. What knowledge they possess they keep to themselves, for it is considered to be in the interests of public schools that these things should be hushed up. When anything very scandalous occurs one or two lads are expelled, to their own grave and, perhaps, life-long injury, and without benefit to those who remain, whose awakening sexual life rarely receives intelligent sympathy.

The following newspaper cutting of recent date summarily narrates an episode of this kind of which I have also had some information from private sources, and relates to a well-known public school not far from London: "A sensation has been caused by the summary dismissal of fifteen students from a well-known college. Recently the suspicions of the masters were aroused by rumors, which were confirmed when one of the servants, in cleaning a dormitory, came upon a letter. After perusing it she handed it over to the head-master. A full inquiry was then instituted into the matter, with the result that fifteen students were found to be implicated. The offense was so grave that the 'head' saw no other course open but to expel the boys. Among those discharged are said to be the son of a well-known actress and the son of an artist." I may remark that, as I have been informed, a boy of 16 or 17 who had previously been expelled from another college, was accepted a few years ago at the college in question, though the head-master was in

¹ "Our Public Schools: their Methods and Morals." *New Review*, July, 1893.

full possession of the facts. (It is, perhaps, noteworthy that an actress and an artist are mentioned as parents of two of the boys expelled; there is a special liability to inversion among those who are attracted to these avocations, and the question whether we are not here in the presence of certain inherited qualities of the nervous system is thus suggested.) For some interesting reminiscences of public-school life I may refer to Case XIII (pp. 71 *et seq.*). In another volume of the present studies (*The Evolution of Modesty*, etc., pp. 169-172) I have brought together evidence concerning the prevalence of homosexual and auto-erotic phenomena in public and private schools and shown that this varies greatly at different schools and at different times in the same school, while in small schools such phenomena may be practically unknown.

For some interesting details regarding homosexuality in German schools I may refer to Dr. A. Hoche, *Zur Frage der forensischen Beurtheilung sexueller Vergehen*.¹ Putting together communications received from various medical men regarding their own youthful experiences at school, he finds relationships of the kind very common, usually between boys of different ages and school-classes. According to one observer, the feminine, or passive, part was always played by a boy of girlish form and complexion, and the relationships were somewhat like those of normal lovers, with kissing, poems, love-letters, scenes of jealousy, sometimes visits to each other in bed, but without masturbation, pederasty, or other grossly physical manifestation. From his own youthful experience Hoche records precisely similar observations, and remarks that the lovers were by no means recruited from the vicious elements in the school. (The elder scholars, of 21 or 22 years of age, formed regular sexual relationships with the servant-girls in the house.) It is probable that the homosexual relationships in English schools are, as a rule, not more vicious than those described by Hoche, but that the concealment in which they are wrapped leads to exaggeration. No doubt, in exceptional cases, the critics of the schools have justice on their side. A discussion on the matter was started by Mr. Wilson, a head-master, some years ago, in the *Journal of Education*. On this, "Olim Etoniensis" wrote² that, on making a list of the vicious boys he had known at Eton, he found that "these very boys had become cabinet ministers, statesmen, officers, clergymen, country-gentlemen, etc., and that they are nearly all of them fathers of thriving families, respected and prosperous." But, as Marro has remarked, the question is not thus settled. Public distinction by no means necessarily implies any fine degree of private morality.

Sometimes the manifestations thus appearing in schools or wherever

¹ *Neurologisches Centralblatt*, 1896, No. 2.

² *Journal of Education*, 1882, p. 85.

youths are congregated together are not truly homosexual, but exhibit a more or less brutal or even sadistic perversion of the immature sexual instinct. This may be illustrated by the following narrative concerning a large London city warehouse: "A youth left my class at the age of 16½," writes a correspondent, "to take up an apprenticeship in a large wholesale firm in G— Street. Fortunately he went on probation of three weeks before articling. He came to me at the end of the first week asking me to intercede with his mother (he had no father) not to let him return. He told me that almost nightly, and especially when new fellows came, the youths in his dormitory (eleven in number) would waylay him, hold him down, and rub his parts to the tune of some comic song or dance-music. The boy who could choose the fastest time had the privilege of performing the operation, and most had to be the victim in turn unless new boys entered, when they would sometimes be subjected to this for a week. This boy, having been brought up strictly, was shocked, dazed, and alarmed; but they stopped him from calling out, and he dared not report it. Most boys entered direct on their apprenticeship without probation, and had no chance to get out. I procured the boy's release from the place and gave the manager to understand what went on." In such a case as this it has usually happened that a strong boy of brutal and perverse instincts and some force of character initiates proceedings which the others either fall into with complacency or are too weak to resist.

Max Dessoir, in a study of the psychology of the sexual life which displays remarkable acumen and independence of judgment,¹ comes to the conclusion that "an undifferentiated sexual feeling is normal, on the average, during the first years of puberty,—i.e., from 13 to 15 in boys and from 12 to 14 in girls,—while in later years it must be regarded as pathological." He adds very truly that in this early period the sexual emotion has not become centered in the sexual organs. This latter fact is certainly far too often forgotten by grown-up persons who suspect the idealized passion of boys and girls of a physical side which children have often no suspicion of, and would view with repulsion and horror. How far the sexual instinct may be said to be undifferentiated in early puberty as regards sex is a little doubtful to me; I should not like to go further than to say that it

¹ Max Dessoir, "Zur Psychologie der Vita Sexualis," *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, 1894, H. 5.

is comparatively undifferentiated. That it is absolutely undifferentiated, except in a few cases, I can by no means admit. However this may be, it is certain that school-life plays a certain part in developing (it would be incautious to say originating) sexual inversion.

Professor James (*Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii, p. 439) considers inversion "a kind of sexual appetite of which very likely most men possess the germinal possibility." Dr. Conolly Norman (Article "Sexual Perversion," Tuke's *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*) also states that "the sexual passion, at its first appearance, is always indefinite, and is very easily turned in a wrong direction," and he apparently accounts for inversion by this fact, and by the precocity of neurotics. Obici and Marchesini (*Le 'Amicizie' di Collegio*, p. 126) refer to the indeterminate character of the sexual feelings when they first begin to develop. A correspondent believes that sexual feelings are undifferentiated in the early years about puberty, but at the same time considers that school-life is to some extent responsible; "the holidays," he adds, "are sufficiently long to counteract it, however, provided the boy has sisters and they have friends; the change from school fare and work to home naturally results in a greater surplus of nerve-force, and I think most boys 'fool about' with servants or their sisters' friends." Moll (*Konträre Sexualempfindung*, 1899, pp. 6 and 356) does not think it is proved that a stage of undifferentiated sexual feeling always occurs, although we have to recognize that it is of frequent occurrence.

These school-boy affections and passions arise, to a large extent, spontaneously with the evolution of the sexual emotions, though the method of manifestation may be a matter of example or suggestion. As the sexual instincts become stronger, and as the lad leaves school or college to mix with men and women in the world, the instinct usually turns into the normal channel, in which channel the instincts of the majority of boys have been directed from the earliest appearance of puberty, if not earlier. But a certain proportion remain insensitive to the influence of women, and these may be regarded as true sexual inverts. Some of them are probably individuals of somewhat undeveloped sexual instincts. The members of this group are of some interest psychologically, although from the comparative quiescence of their sexual emotions they have received little attention. The

following communication which I have received from a well-accredited source is noteworthy from this point of view:—

“The following facts may possibly be of interest to you, though my statement of them is necessarily general and vague. I happen to know intimately three cases of men whose affections have chiefly been directed exclusively to persons of their own sex. The first, having practiced masturbation as a boy, and then for some ten years ceased to practice it (to such an extent that he even inhibited his erotic dreams) has since recurred to it deliberately (at about fortnightly intervals) as a substitute for copulation, for which he has never felt the least desire. But occasionally, when sleeping with a male friend, he has emissions in the act of embracing. The second is constantly and to an abnormal extent (I should say) troubled with erotic dreams and emissions and takes drugs, by doctor’s advice, to reduce this activity. He has recently developed a sexual interest in women, but for ethical and other reasons does not copulate with them. Of the third I can say little, as he has not talked to me on the subject; but I know that he has never had intercourse with women, and has always had a natural and instinctive repulsion to the idea. In all these, I imagine, the physical impulse of sex is less imperative than in the average man. The emotional impulse, on the other hand, is very strong. It has given birth to friendships of which I find no adequate description anywhere but in the dialogues of Plato; and, beyond a certain feeling of strangeness at the gradual discovery of a temperament apparently different to that of most men, it has provoked no kind of self-reproach or shame. On the contrary, the feeling has been rather one of elation in the consciousness of a capacity of affection which appears to be finer and more spiritual than that which commonly subsists between persons of different sexes. These men are all of intellectual capacity above the average; and one is actively engaged in the world, where he is both respected for his capacity and admired for his character. I mention this particularly, because it appears to be the habit, in books upon this subject, to regard the relation in question as pathological, and to select cases where those who are concerned in it are tormented with shame and remorse. In the cases to which I am referring nothing of the kind subsists.

“In all these cases a physical sexual attraction is recognized as the basis of the relation, but as a matter of feeling, and partly also of theory, the ascetic ideal is adopted.

“These are the only cases with which I am personally and intimately acquainted. But no one can have passed through a public-school and college life without constantly observing indications of the phenomenon in question. It is clear to me that in a large number of instances there

is no fixed line between what is called distinctively 'friendship' and love; and it is probably the influence of custom and public opinion that in most cases finally specializes the physical passion in the direction of the opposite sex."

The classification of the varieties of sexual inversion is still a matter of some difficulty. While some authorities are inclined to regard nearly all cases as acquired, others regard nearly every case as really congenital. Before the study of inversion was placed on a scientific basis all cases were, of course, regarded as acquired. The point of view is now so different that Moll, one of the latest and shrewdest students of the matter, in the first edition of his book was inclined to regard acquired inversion as almost non-existent. In the second edition he modified this view and concluded that acquired cases did certainly occur, but only rarely, many cases which by Krafft-Ebing would be considered acquired being by Moll regarded as cases of psychosexual hermaphroditism. With this modified conclusion I concur. I put aside those cases, of a more or less morbid character, in which old men with failing sexual powers, or younger men exhausted by heterosexual debauchery, are attracted to boys.¹ With this

¹ Such cases, however, need more careful psychological study than they have yet received. Féré has investigated a case of this kind in which a healthy young man (though with slightly neurotic heredity on one side) practiced sexual intercourse excessively between the ages of twenty and twenty-three—often impelled more by *amour propre* than sexual desire—and then suddenly became impotent, at the same time losing all desire, but without any other loss of health. Six months later potency slowly returned, though never to the same extent, and he married. At the age of thirty-five symptoms of locomotor ataxia began to appear, and some years later he again became impotent, but without losing sexual desire. Suddenly one day, on sitting in close contact with a young man at a *table d'hôte*, he experienced violent erection; he afterward found that the same thing occurred with other young men, and, though he had no psychic desire for men, he was constrained to seek such contact, and a repugnance for women and their sexuality arose. Five months later a complete paraplegic impotence set in; and then both the homosexual tendency and the aversion to women disappeared. (Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, p. 184.) In such a case, under the influence of disease, excessive stimulation seems to result in more or less complete sexual anesthesia, just as temporarily we may be more or less blinded by excess of light; and functional power reasserts itself under the influence of a different and normally much weaker stimulus. Whatever the mechanism of the process may be, there is certainly a tendency for a morbidly feeble sexual impulse to become inverted.

exception I regard acquired inversion as rare, and I should not be surprised to find that a more minute investigation would show that even in these rare cases there is a congenital element. I am only able to bring forward three cases which can fairly be regarded as acquired and without obvious congenital element. The determination of the congenital or acquired nature of a particular case of inversion is frequently by no means so easy as many persons who dogmatically lay down the law on one side or the other seem to believe. The case must first be presented to us in much greater fullness than we are accustomed to get it. Then, before we can assert that it is a purely congenital case, we must be quite sure that no imprint of environment or suggestion, made at some "psychological moment," has had a controlling influence. And before we can assert that a case is purely acquired, we must possess a sufficiently minute knowledge of the subject in early life to be able to assert that his emotions and ideals as a child, and the nature of his physical organism, have not predisposed him to homosexual impulses. When we are able to investigate our cases with due fullness and precision, I think it will be found that in many cases we may fairly call acquired there is a congenital element, and that in many cases we may fairly call congenital some accident of environment has had an influence in developing latent tendency. Unfortunately I have not been able to investigate all my cases personally, so that many points in the following histories remain obscure; but many of the cases not personally observed have been investigated with due care, through very reliable channels; so far as the histories go they may, I believe, be accepted.

I do not propose to adopt any more complex classification than the clinical distinction between simple inversion and psychosexual hermaphroditism, as it is usually called, the first class including all those individuals who are sexually attracted only to their own sex, the second class those who are attracted to both sexes. In each group I will first present the apparently acquired cases.

SIMPLE INVERSION.

CASE I.—Both parents healthy; father of unusually fine *physique*. He is himself a manual worker, and also of exceptionally fine *physique*. He is, however, of nervous temperament. He is mentally bright, though not highly educated, a keen sportsman, and in general a good example of an all-round healthy Englishman.

While very affectionate, his sexual desires are not strongly developed on the physical side, and seem never to have been so. He sometimes masturbated about the age of puberty, but never afterward. He does not appear to have well-marked erotic dreams. There used to be some attraction toward women, though it was never strong. At the age of 26 he was seduced by a woman and had connection with her once. Afterward he had reason to think she had played him false in various ways. This induced the strongest antipathy, not only to this woman, but to all marriageable women. A year after this episode homosexual feeling first became clear and defined. He is now 33, and feels the same antipathy to women; he hates even to speak of marriage.

There has only been one really strong attraction, toward a man of about the same age, but of different social class, and somewhat a contrast to him, both physically and mentally. So far as the physical act is concerned this relationship is not definitely sexual, but it is of the most intimate possible kind, and the absence of the physical act is probably largely due to circumstances. At the same time there is no conscious desire for the act for its own sake, and the existing harmony and satisfaction is described as very complete. There is, however, no repulsion to the physical side, and he regards the whole relationship as quite natural.

CASE II.—Highlander, aged 37, a "chance" child of rather poor birth, and employed as a postman. He is very amorous by nature, with good intelligence, but feeble will. His heart is weak, and there is a tendency to hypochondriasis. Latterly he has taken drugs to a considerable extent to relieve his heart-trouble, and has also become almost impotent.

As a young man he was very fond of the girls, and showed a morbid degree of erethism (emission at sight of women, etc.); he had one or two serious love-affairs and disappointments. Then the passion gradually veered around to his own sex; he does not know why. At the present time his life is always wrapped up in some male friend, but without much response on the physical side from the other person. His sleeping and waking life is filled with a continual procession of images of physical and emotional desire. His temperament is somewhat artistic.

The first case is slightly neurotic in character, in the second there is a high degree of general feebleness and hyperesthesia

which is distinctly morbid; in both the inversion seems to be acquired. Unfortunately, in neither case have I had an opportunity of making any extended investigation into the history; a love-disappointment, it need not be said, is no adequate cause for a total change in the direction of the sexual current; it is possible that a more minute examination might reveal some predisposition to inversion in the first case, while in the second the sexual hyperesthesia is an important factor.

In the next case it is somewhat difficult to assert definitely that the impulse is either congenital or acquired, but it has certainly arisen on a distinctly neurotic soil. The morbid element is suggested at the outset by the fact that the subject is an only child, and is shown by the early excesses in masturbation, as well as by the subsequent history, the dominance of absurd imaginations, the hyperesthetic weakness, and the tendency to morphinism.

CASE III.—C. M., aged 32, only child. He knows nothing of any sexual or other peculiarities in his family. In early youth he masturbated to excess, sometimes three times daily. Before the age of 14 he once, he says, felt sexually attracted toward some girls who came to the northern town in which he lived from the south of England; this is the only time he has ever felt attracted to women, and the emotion was not deep or lasting.

At the age of 14 he was living at a sea-side town and used to take sixpenny trips on a steamer. It was, he states, on one of these trips that he was "first tormented by the 'great wish.'" When not suffering from seasickness the up-and-down motion of the boat would suggest to him that a young man lover was lying supine, and that he was himself sitting astride and masturbating him, the heaving motion of the boat suggesting corresponding movements of the young man. "Ever since then," he declares, "my initiation into urning passion may have been said to begin." The boat was called *The Friends*, and he always regarded it as being a male boat; another boat with a female name he never entered on that account. "When I could not afford, for want of pocket-money, to board *The Friends* I used to be frantically jealous of any girls who did, imagining—I being quite a boy then—that the girls would be taking similar pleasure from similar imaginations as I did. I was particularly pleased on one occasion, I remember, when I found many females seasick after their trip on that boat."

He has always been very shy of showing his homosexual feelings.

"Luckily," he writes, "others are not so shy, for at one school one of the boys (I was 20 then) took to me so much that he used often to kiss me, even before the rest, and once by ourselves (he commenced it, too!) we went through a portion of those ceremonies which, unlike *fellatio* or *pedicatio*, are not repellent to my perhaps more esthetic nature. Neither is mutual masturbation (with the right person) at all disagreeable to me. However, unfortunately, my ever-ready jealousy (his father was a musician, and I feared his son would be with my rivals, the girls, in dancing-places) resulted in a quarrel, with the result that he showed all my shorthand-written love-letters to another of the boys—to whom also I had taught phonography—and fuss was made of it." His shyness has remained, and has always been an apparently insuperable obstacle in the way of gratifying his homosexual tendencies. He masturbates, but only occasionally, partly from fear of ill effects, partly because the practice gives him no real satisfaction.

As regards the method of gratification, his ideal has remained that which was suggested during his boyish trips on the steam-boat. "*Fellatio* and *pedicatio*," he writes, "are repellent to me, though my desires, when aroused, are as potent as anyone's. Also I am not so much attracted by the naked form as by that of a young man (without beard, whiskers, or other hirsute appendages on the face) either in a smooth, black dress-suit or else with the coat and vest black and the trousers dark gray, smooth, and with black stripes—not square checks. (I am merely speaking of my urning *desire* without the *love*, for in the latter case my feelings would be just as strong whatever the dress were.) My desires are only called forth by young men or boys, never by middle-aged men over forty." Young soldiers, volunteers, etc., are very attractive to him.

He is very jealous of women, and the thought of the gratification obtained by women in sexual connection with men is a constant torment, almost an obsession, with him. His mind is much exercised by stories he has heard of women forcing men to give them sexual gratification. "The envy and jealousy," he writes, "that I experience at the mere idea of connection between 'wishy' (*i.e.*, desirable from an urning point of view) young men and females (especially if, as in some few cases that I have heard of, the females, being stronger, have forced the male to lie down and give them satisfaction) is such a hell to me, even to think of, that I can scarcely bear to hear these remarks. Such females should be most severely punished by law. I may remark that I am no woman-hater apart from such cases, and often like their society well enough. But they must not expect any gallantry, opening of doors, taking off of hats, and so on from me. These attentions are only sexual at the foundation, and no true urning would feel the necessity for them."

To some extent C. M.'s homosexual feeling shows a trace of masochism, for he remarks that the thought of women trying to force men

to sexual excitement, though very terrible, produces an erection, though not of a pleasurable kind. "A friend tells me," he remarks, "that if a man were unwilling, a woman could force an erection on him, and the degradation would be less if they could not. I don't know how it is, but I always fancied that they could with me, the more unwilling I was the more easily, and so make the disgrace all the worse. The erection would be caused, not by passion for the female, but by the thought of being forced against one's will by the 'weaker sex.'"

C. M. has always been thought eccentric and odd. He cannot whistle or play rough games. He is accused of dreaminess and "inattention to business matters," and has always been very unlucky in pecuniary and other matters. This, and his "love-disappointments," have given him the feeling that his life is spoilt. He suffers from nervousness and melancholy, and has what he describes as "frequent, weak, faint-like collapses." He habitually takes morphia, in order to escape his worries.

He is a free-thinking spiritist and theosophist, and somewhat mediumistic. He believes in crystallo-mancy and crystal-gazing, and would much like to ascertain his future destiny.

Although he has suffered so much from unsatisfied homosexual desires, he says that he would not be prevented from being an invert by any consideration. As regards the moral aspects of the matter, he writes: "I hate *moralists*. The only wickedness, logically speaking, is acting wrongly to others. Our passions and desires are implanted by Deity or Nature, either of whom, or both, must take the blame if there be any. Indeed, there *is*, on the part of the Planter, in those cases where he will not allow them to be gratified."

The next case may be regarded as congenital; there is no evidence whatever of the presence of the normal instinct at any period of life. In this case the sexual instinct is probably not very strongly developed.

CASE IV.—Of Lowland Scotch parentage. Both sides of house healthy, and without cerebral or nervous disease. Homosexual desires began at puberty. He practiced onanism to a limited extent at school and up to the age of about 22. His erotic dreams are exclusively about males. While very friendly and intimate with women of all ages, he is instantly repelled by any display of sexual affection on their side. This has happened in varying degree in three or four cases. With regard to marriage, he remarks: "As there seems no immediate danger of the race dying out, I leave marriage to those who like it." His male ideal has varied to some extent. It has for some years tended toward a healthy,

well-developed, athletic or out-of-door working type, intelligent and sympathetic, but not specially intellectual.

At school his sexual relations were of the simplest type. Since then there have been none. "This," he says, "is not due either to absence of desire or presence of 'morals.' To put it shortly, 'there were never the time and the place and the loved one together.' In another view, physical desire and general affection have not always co-existed toward the same person; and the former without the latter is comparatively transient; while the latter stops the gratification of the former, if it is felt that that gratification could in any way make the object of affection unhappy, mentally or emotionally."

He is healthy and fairly well developed; of sensitive, emotional nature, but self-controlled; mentally he is receptive and aggressive by turns, sometimes uncritical, sometimes analytical. His temper is equable, and he is strongly affectionate. Very fond of music and the other arts, but not highly imaginative.

Of sexual inversion in the abstract he says he has no views, but he thus sums up his moral attitude: "I presume that, if it is there, it is there for use or abuse, as men please. I condemn gratification of bodily desire at the expense of others, in whatever form it may take. I condemn it no more in its inverted form than in the ordinary. I believe that affection between persons of the same sex, even when it includes the sexual passion and its indulgence, may lead to results as splendid as human nature can ever attain to. In short, I place it on an absolute equality with love as ordinarily understood."

CASE V.—Father and mother were first cousins, but of healthy stock. He is himself a man of fair *physique*, but highly nervous. He is sympathetic, passionate, and extremely affectionate. He is imaginative, with artistic tastes. Homosexual desires appeared about the time of puberty. When at school he indulged moderately in masturbation, but never afterward. His erotic dreams are of males, and very frequent.

He is very good friends with women, but has strong repulsion from sexual relations with them, or any approach to it. Marriage would be quite impossible to him, except as a matter of convenience in house-keeping, and on condition of excluding the sexual side altogether. The males he is attracted to are of different types and classes, but generally younger men. The sexual relationship has in no case involved *venus aversa*. From the moral point of view he regards normal and inverted sexuality as altogether on a par.

Of the next case I am unable to give details. But it is well worth introducing, as it illustrates the terrible struggle which sometimes takes place in a man whose fundamental and irre-

sistible instincts are utterly opposed to his only less fundamental moral convictions.

CASE VI.—Physician, unmarried, English, aged 60. Feels sure that in his own case heredity must be the cause. His father suffered from severe attacks of melancholia; he himself, from the age of 13-14, without any excitement of an external kind, and with every good influence around him and a severe, heart-felt striving on his own part after all that was good, nevertheless felt this instinct form and get strength within him. Prayers, struggles, all means used were of no avail. The thoughts, the imagination remained, bent in one fixed direction.

His has been a miserable life. Death, even if it meant nothing but a passage into nothingness, he says, would be a thousand times preferable. As to investigating the subject scientifically, nothing could come of it. There are so many deviations from the normal, mental and moral (who, indeed, is without them?), and yet they do not constitute insanity. This he regards as one of them.

In another communication he says: "If all the miserable hours of wretchedness and despair could be counted up which I have suffered in my life, they would form a hell. Even now I cannot decide for myself how far one is exactly accountable for morbid instincts and feeling from which no prayers, no struggle, can deliver one. My own opinion is that in one way or another no one is blameless, but that there is great difference in the moral nature, and that in the case of a great many persons stains are not felt as stains."

The next three cases are told mainly in the subjects' own words.

CASE VII.—"My parentage is very sound and healthy. Both my parents (who belong to the professional middle class) have good general health; nor can I trace any marked abnormal or diseased tendency, of mind or body, in any records of the family.

"Though of a strongly nervous temperament myself, and sensitive, my health is good. I am not aware of any tendency to physical disease. In early manhood, however, owing, I believe, to the great emotional tension under which I lived, my nervous system was a good deal shattered and exhausted. Mentally and morally my nature is pretty well balanced, and I have never had any serious perturbations in these departments.

"At the age of 8 or 9, and long before distinct sexual feelings declared themselves, I felt a friendly attraction toward my own sex, and this developed after the age of puberty into a passionate sense of love, which, however, never found any expression for itself till I was fully 20

years of age. I was a day-boarder at school and heard little of school-talk on sex subjects, was very reserved and modest besides; no elder person or parent ever spoke to me on such matters; and the passion for my own sex developed gradually, utterly uninfluenced from the outside. I never even, during all this period, and till a good deal later, learned the practice of masturbation. My own sexual nature was a mystery to me. I found myself cut off from the understanding of others, felt myself an outcast, and, with a highly loving and clinging temperament, was intensely miserable. I thought about my male friends—sometimes boys of my own age, sometimes elder boys, and once even a master—during the day and dreamed about them at night, but was too convinced that I was a hopeless monstrosity ever to make any effectual advances. Later on it was much the same, but gradually, though slowly, I came to find that there were others like myself. I made a few special friends, and at last it came to me occasionally to sleep with them and to satisfy my imperious need by mutual embraces and emissions. Before this happened, however, I was once or twice on the brink of despair and madness with repressed passion and torment.

"Meanwhile, from the first, my feeling, physically, toward the female sex was one of indifference, and later on, with the more special development of sex desires, one of positive repulsion. Though having several female friends, whose society I like and to whom I am sincerely attached, the thought of marriage or cohabitation with any such has always been odious to me.

"As a boy, I was attracted in general by boys rather older than myself; after leaving school I still fell in love, in a romantic vein, with comrades of my own standing. Now—at the age of 37—my ideal of love is a powerful, strongly-built man, of my own age or rather younger—preferably of the working class. Though having solid sense and character, he need not be specially intellectual. If endowed in the latter way, he must not be too glib or refined. Anything effeminate in a man, or anything of the cheap intellectual style, repels me very decisively.

"I have never had to do with actual pederasty, so called. My chief desire in love is bodily nearness or contact, as to sleep naked with a naked friend; the specially sexual, though urgent enough, seems a secondary matter. Pederasty, either active or passive, might seem in place to me with one I loved very devotedly and who also loved me to that degree; but I think not otherwise. I am an artist by temperament and choice, fond of all beautiful things, especially the male human form; of active, slight, muscular build; and sympathetic, but somewhat indecisive, character, though possessing self-control.

"I cannot regard my sexual feelings as unnatural or abnormal, since they have disclosed themselves so perfectly naturally and spontaneously within me. All that I have read in books or heard spoken about the

ordinary sexual love, its intensity and passion, life-long devotion, love at first sight, etc., seems to me to be easily matched by my own experiences in the homosexual form; and, with regard to the morality of this complex subject, my feeling is that it is the same as should prevail in love between man and woman, namely: that no bodily satisfaction should be sought at the cost of another person's distress or degradation. I am sure that this kind of love is, notwithstanding the physical difficulties that attend it, as deeply stirring and ennobling as the other kind, if not more so; and I think that for a perfect relationship the actual sex gratifications (whatever they may be) probably hold a less important place in this love than in the other."

CASE VIII.—M. N., aged 30. "My grandfather might be said to be of abnormal temperament, for, though of very humble origin, he organized and carried out an extremely arduous mission work and became an accomplished linguist, translating the Bible into an Eastern tongue and compiling the first dictionary of that language. He died, practically of overwork, at the age of 45. He was twice married, my father being his third son by the second wife. I believe that two, if not more, of the family (numbering seven in all) were inverted, and the only one of them to marry was my father. My grandmother was the last representative of an old and very "wild" Irish family. She died at an advanced age of paralysis. My father was 36, and my mother 21 at the time of their marriage. I was born three years after and was their only child. The marriage proved a most unhappy one, they being utterly unsuited to each other in every way.

"My father's health during the first years of his marriage was very delicate, and I have reason to believe that it had been undermined in certain ways by his life abroad. I understand I was born with slight gonorrheal affection, and as a child my health was very indifferent. This latter may have been brought about by the peculiarly unhappy and unnatural life I led. I had no companions of my own age, and did not even attend any school till after my mother's death. My father superintended my education up to that time, and I had free access to a large and very varied library and a great deal of solitary leisure to enjoy it in. There were a number of medical and scientific books in it, which were my principal favorites, and I remember deciding at a very early age to be a doctor. When about five years old I recollect having a sexual dream connected with a railway-porter. It afforded me great pleasure to recall this dream, and about that time I discovered a method of self-gratification (there is not much "teaching" required in these matters!).

"I cannot say that the dream I have mentioned constituted absolutely the first intimation of inverted feeling, but rather that it crystallized vague ideas which I might have already had on the subject. I can recollect that when about between 3 and 4 years of age a young fellow of

about 20 came to our house several times as a visitor. He was fond of children I suppose, and I generally sat on his knee and was kissed by him. This was a source of great pleasure to me, but I cannot remember if it was accompanied by erection. I can only recall that his attention and caresses made a greater impression upon me than those of women. When about that age too I was often aroused when sleeping with my mother, and told not to lie on my face. I remember that erection was always present on these occasions. The dream was the first of many of its kind, and in my case they have never been accompanied by emission. They have always been of an "inverted" character, though I have occasionally had dreams about women. These latter, however, have usually partaken somewhat of the nature of nightmare!

"Up to the age of 14 I felt much perplexed and depressed by my views on sexual desire, and was convinced that they were peculiar to myself. This, combined with the solitary condition of my life, and about four years' continued ill treatment prior to my mother's death (she had given way to drink for that period) had a very injurious effect on my health, mental and bodily. Looking back from my present point of view, I can understand and forgive many things which appeared monstrous and unjust to me as a child. My mother's life must have been a very unhappy one, and she was bitterly disappointed in many ways, very likely in me as well. My unfortunate, misunderstood temperament led me to be shy and secretive, and I was often ailing, and my training was not calculated to improve matters. At last, however, change and freedom came, and I was sent to a boarding-school. Here, of course, I soon met with attachments and gratifications with other boys. I arrived at puberty, and my health improved under happier surroundings. I was not long in discovering that my companions viewed the pleasures that meant so much to me from an entirely different stand-point. Their gratifications were usually accompanied by conversation about, and a general direction of thought toward, females. When I had turned 15, owing to monetary difficulties I was obliged to leave school, and was soon not only thrown on my own resources, but accountable to no one but myself for my conduct. Of course, my next discovery was that my case, so far from being peculiar, was a most common one, and I was quickly initiated into all the mysteries of inversion, with its freemasonry and 'argot.' Altogether my experience of inverts has been a pretty wide and varied one, and I have always endeavored to classify and compare cases which have come under my notice with a view to arriving at some sort of conclusion or explanation.

"I suppose it is due to female versatility or impressibility that it is possible for me to experience mentally the emotions attributable to either sex, according to the age and temperament of my companion; for instance, with one older than myself, possessing well-marked male charac-

teristics, I am able to feel all that surrender and dependence which is so essentially feminine. On the other hand, if with a youth of feminine type and behavior I can realize, with an equal amount of pleasure, the tender, yet dominant, attitude of the male.

"I experience no particular 'horror' of women sexually. I should imagine that my feeling toward them resembles very much what normal people feel with regard to others of their own sex. Among the latter, especially in the case of those with whom sexuality is a strongly marked feature, there exists a feeling of antagonism as between man and man and woman and woman, based probably on instinctive sex-rivalry and jealousy, which is sufficient not only to occasion much of the repugnance and odium which attaches to inversion generally, but in itself to create a certain amount of horror. Thus I have heard a pronounced woman-lover remark that he considered a naked man to be 'the most disgusting spectacle on earth,' and this feeling is, if anything, more strongly evinced as between women. It is a question whether it is not strong enough in many cases to act as a deterrent from self-gratification." M. N. remarks that he cannot whistle, and that his favorite color is green.

In this case the subject easily found a moral *modus vivendi* with his inverted instinct, and he takes its gratification for granted. In the three following cases, which, I believe, are typical of a large group, the subjects have never yielded to their inverted impulses, and, except so far as masturbation is concerned, have preserved strict chastity.

CASE IX.—R. S., aged 31, American, of French descent. "Upon the question of heredity I may say that I belong to a reasonably healthy, prolific, and long-lived family. On my father's side, however, there is a tendency toward pulmonary troubles. He himself died of pneumonia, and two of his brothers and a nephew of consumption. Neither of my parents were morbid or eccentric. Excepting for a certain shyness with strangers, my father was a very masculine man. My mother is somewhat nervous, but is not imaginative, nor at all demonstrative in her affections. I think that my own imagination and artistic temperament must come from my father's side. Perhaps my French ancestry has something to do with it. With the exception of my maternal grandfather, all my progenitors have been of French descent. My mother's father was English.

"I possess a mercurial temperament and a strong sense of the ludicrous. Though my *physique* is slight, my health has always been excellent. Of late years especially I have been greatly given to introspection and self-scrutiny, but have never had any hallucinations, mental delusions, nor hysterics, and am not at all superstitious. Spiritualistic mani-

festations, hypnotic dabbings, and the other psychical fads of the day have little or no attraction for me. In fact, I have always been skeptical of them, and they rather bore me.

"At school I was an indolent, dreamy boy, shirking study, but otherwise fairly docile to my teachers. From earliest childhood I have indulged in omnivorous taste for reading, my particular likings being for travels, esthetics, metaphysical and theological subjects, and more recently for poetry and certain forms of mysticism. I never cared much for history or for scientific subjects. From the beginning, too, I showed a strong artistic bent, and possessed an overpowering love for all things beautiful. As a child, I was passionately fond of flowers, loved to be in the woods and alone, and wanted to become an artist. My parents opposed the latter wish, and I gave way before their opposition.

"In me the homosexual nature is singularly complete, and is undoubtedly congenital. The most intense delight of my childhood (even when a tiny boy in a nurse's charge) was to watch acrobats and riders at the circus. This was not so much for the skillful feats as on account of the beauty of their persons. Even then I cared chiefly for the more lithe and graceful fellows. People told me that circus-actors were wicked, and would steal little boys, and so I came to look upon my favorites as half-devil and half-angel. When I was older and could go about alone, I would often hang around the tents of traveling shows in hope of catching a glimpse of the actors. I longed to see them naked, without their tights, and used to lie awake at night, thinking of them and longing to be loved and embraced by them. A certain bareback-rider, a sort of jockey, used especially to please me on account of his handsome legs, which were clothed in fleshlings up to his waist, leaving his beautiful loins uncovered by a breech-clout. There was nothing consciously sensual about these reveries, because at the time I had no sensual feelings or knowledge. Curiously enough, the women-actors repelled me then (as they do to this day) quite as strongly as I was attracted by the men.

"I used, also, to take great pleasure in watching men and boys in swimming, but my opportunities for seeing them thus were extremely rare. I never dared let my comrades know how I felt about these matters, but the sight of a well-formed, naked youth or man would fill me (and does now) with mingled feelings of bashfulness, anguish, and delight. I used to tell myself endless stories of a visionary castle inhabited by beautiful boys, one of whom was my especially dear chum.

"It was always the *prince*, in fairy-tales, who held my interest or affection. I was constantly falling in love with handsome boys whom I never knew; nor did I ever try to mix in their company, for I was abashed before them, and had no liking nor aptitude for boyish games. Sometimes I played with girls, because they were more quiet and gentler, but I cared for them little or not at all.

"As is usually the case, my parents neglected to impart to me any sexual knowledge, and such as I possessed was gathered furtively from tainted sources, bad boys' talk at school, and elsewhere. My elders let me know, in a vague way, that talk of the kind was wicked, and natural timidity, and a wish to be 'good,' kept me from learning much about sexual matters. As I never went to boarding-school, I was spared, perhaps, many of the degrading initiations administered by knowing boys at such institutions.

"In spite of what has been said above, I do not believe that I was sexually very precocious, and even now I feel that more pleasure would ensue from merely contemplating than from personal contact with the object of my amorous attentions.

"As I grew older there came, of course, an undefined physical longing, but it was the *beauty* of those I admired which mainly appealed to me. At the time of puberty I spontaneously acquired the habit of masturbation. Once while bathing I found that a pleasant feeling came with touching the sexual organs. It was not long before I was confirmed in the habit. At first I practiced it but seldom, but afterward much more frequently (say, once a week), though at times months have elapsed without any indulgence on my part. I have never had erotic dreams but three or four times in my life. The masturbating habit I regard as morally reprehensible, and have made many resolutions to break it, but without avail. It affords me only the most momentary satisfaction, and is always followed by remorseful scruples.

"I have never in my life had any sexual feeling for a woman, nor any sexual connection with any woman whatsoever. The very thought of such a thing is excessively repugnant and disgusting to me. This is true, apart from any moral considerations, and I do not think I could bring myself to it. I am not attracted by young women in any way. Even their physical beauty has little or no charm for me, and I often wonder how men can be so affected by it. On the other hand, I am not a woman-hater, and have several strong friends of the opposite sex. They are, however, women older than myself, and our friendship is based solely on certain intellectual or esthetic tastes we have in common.

"I have had practically no physical relations with men; at any rate, none specifically sexual. Once, when about 19 or 20, I started to embrace a beautifully formed youth with whom I was sleeping, but timidity and scruples got the better of my feelings, and, as my bedfellow was not amorously inclined toward me, nothing came of it. A few years after this I became strongly attached to a friend whom I had already known for several years. Circumstances threw us very much together during one summer. It was now that I felt for the first time the full shock of love. He returned my affection, but both of us were shy of showing our feelings or speaking of them. Often when walking together after night-

fall we would put our arms about each other. Sometimes, too, when sleeping together we would lie in close contact, and my friend once suggested that I put my legs against his. He frequently begged me to spend the night with him; but I began to fear my feelings, and slept with him but seldom. We neither of us had any definite ideas about homosexual relations, and, apart from what I have related above, we had no further contact with each other. A few months after our amorous feelings had developed my friend died. His death caused me great distress, and my naturally religious temperament began to manifest itself quite strongly. At this time, too, I first read some writings of Mr. Addington Symonds, and certain allusions in his work, coupled with my recent experience, soon stirred me to a full consciousness of my inverted nature.

"About eight months after my friend's death I happened to meet in a strange town a youth of about my own age who exerted upon me a strong and instant attraction. He possessed a refined, handsome face, was gracefully built, and, though he was rather undemonstrative, we soon became fast friends.

"We were together only for a few days, when I was obliged to leave for my home, and the parting caused me great unhappiness and depression. A few months after we spent a vacation together. One day during our trip we went swimming, and undressed in the same bath-house. When I saw my friend naked for the first time he seemed to me so beautiful that I longed to throw my arms about him and cover him with kisses. I kept my feelings hidden, however, hardly daring to look at him for fear of being unable to restrain my desires. Several times afterward, in his room, I saw him stripped, with the same effect upon my emotions. Until I had seen him naked my feelings for him were not of a physical character, but afterward I longed for actual contact, but only by embraces and kisses. Though he was fond of me, he had absolutely no amorous longings for me, and being a simple, pure-minded fellow, would have loathed me for mine and my inverted nature. I was careful never to let him discover it, and I was made very unhappy when he confided that he was in love with a young girl whom he wished to marry. This episode took place several years ago, and though we are still friends my emotional feelings for him have cooled considerably.

"I have always been very shy of showing any affectionate tendencies. Most of my acquaintances (and close friends even) think me curiously cold, and often wonder why I have never fallen in love or married. For obvious reasons I have never been able to tell them.

"Three or four years ago a little book by Coventry Patmore fell into my hands, and from its perusal resulted a strange blending of my religious and erotic notions. The desire to love and be loved is hard to drown, and, when I realized that homosexually it was neither lawful nor

possible for me to love in this world, I began to project my longings into the next. By birth I am a Roman Catholic, and in spite of a somewhat-skeptical temper, manage to remain one by conviction.

"From the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, and Eucharist, I have drawn conclusions which would fill the mind of the average pietist with holy horror; nevertheless I believe that (granting the premises) these conclusions are both logically and theologically defensible. The Divinity of my fancied paradise resembles in no way the vapid conceptions of Fra Angelico, or the Quartier St. Sulpice. His physical aspect, at least, would be better represented by some Praxitelean demi-god, or Flandrin's naked, brooding boy.

"While these imaginings have caused me considerable moral disquietude, they do not seem wholly reprehensible, because I feel that the chief happiness I would derive by their realization would be mainly from the contemplation of the loved one, rather than from closer joys.

"I possess only a slight knowledge of the history and particulars of erotic mysticism, but it is likely that my notions are neither new nor peculiar, and many utterances of the few mystical writers with whose works I am acquainted seem substantially in accord with my own longings and conclusions. In endeavoring to find for them some sanction of valid authority, I have always sought corroboration from members of my own sex; hence am less likely to have fashioned my views after those of hypersensitive or hysterical women.

"You will rightly infer that it is difficult for me to say exactly how I regard (morally) the homosexual tendency. Of this much, however, I am certain, that, even if it were possible, I would not exchange my inverted nature for a normal one. I suspect that the sexual emotions and even inverted ones have a more subtle significance than is generally attributed to them; but modern moralists either fight shy of transcendental interpretations or see none, and I am ignorant and unable to solve the mystery these feelings seem to imply.

"Patmore speaks boldly enough, in his way, and Lacordaire has hinted at things, but in a very guarded manner. I have neither the ability nor opportunity to study what the mystics of the middle ages have to say along these lines, and besides the medieval way of looking at things is not congenial to me. The chief characteristic of my tendency is an overpowering admiration for male beauty, and in this I am more akin to the Greeks.

"I have absolutely no words to tell you how powerfully such beauty affects me. Moral and intellectual worth is, I know, of greater value, but physical beauty I *see* more clearly, and it appears to me the most *vivid* (if not the most perfect) manifestation of the divine. A little incident may, perhaps, reveal to you my feelings more completely. Not long ago I happened to see an unusually well-formed young fellow enter a house

of assignation with a common woman of the streets. The sight filled me with the keenest anguish, and the thought that his beauty would soon be at the disposal of a prostitute made me feel as if I were a powerless and unhappy witness to a sacrilege. It may be that my rage for male loveliness is only another outbreaking of the old Platonic mania, for as time goes on I find that I long less for the actual youth before me, and more and more for some ideal, perfect being whose bodily splendor and loving heart are the realities whose reflections only we see in this cave of shadows. Since the birth and development within me of what, for lack of a better name, I term my homosexualized Patmorean ideal, life has become, in the main, a weary business. I am not despondent, however, because many things still hold for me a certain interest. When that interest dies down, as it is wont from time to time, I endeavor to be patient. God grant that, after the end *here*, I may be drawn from the shadow, and seemingly vain imaginings into the possession of their never-ending reality *hereafter*."

CASE X.—T. W., aged 36, engaged in business, for which, however, he has no taste, being attracted to classical studies; he possesses a university degree, and is attracted to the scholastic profession, but recognizes its dangers for a man of his temperament. He belongs to a healthy family, "although," he remarks, "we have our peculiarities," and one brother ruined a fine constitution by women and drink. He is the youngest of the family; his parents were about 38 at his birth, and his father died a few weeks after he was born. His mother suckled him, and she thinks that her grief may have tended to enfeeble his constitution. In any case he is the weakest of the family, though his general health is good. He also remarks that his mother was very anxious for a girl-child, and had even chosen a female name by which in childhood she sometimes called him. In youth he was not able to go in for much exercise; latterly he has taken to bicycling. "As a child," he writes, "my imagination was not perhaps very healthy. I lived too much alone and spent most of my time in reading. I was very sensitive to ridicule, and could not bear being teased, so that I shrank from other boys, while at the same time I often longed for their friendship. I then withdrew into myself and indulged my imagination. I dare say an ordinary doctor would say that the whole thing was started by morbid conditions of life, but I do not think so.

"I have never had the least inclination for women, while, on the other hand, I am often strongly affected by the contiguity of handsome youths. I frequently have erections under such circumstances. At the same time, being of a somewhat retiring disposition, I have never made any so-called immoral propositions to anyone and have never had any physical connection whatever with any human being.

"My peculiar disposition has caused me trouble in two ways: First,

as regards women. I have tried to be like other men. I have tried to love women. In two separate instances I have formed friendships with women, and in the ordinary phrase have, in a sort of way, 'courted' them. I could have married either of them, but when it came to the point I drew back. I did not and could not love them, and both they and other people must have thought my behavior extraordinary. One of them indeed wrote me a declaration of love, and I felt like a cad because I could not respond.

"Secondly, as regards friendships with men I have been unfortunate, because I have felt very warm affection for some who have apparently cared very little for me, and have taken advantage of me for their own purposes. I am afraid I have often got the reputation of being rather silly through behaving in an affectionate way with young men. It seems to me in this country to be forbidden that one man should care very much about another. In fact, I have heard people say that they can't understand how one man can feel any affection for another. I have really the same difficulty, though I dare not say so, in understanding the passion of a man for a woman.

"I suppose I have been rather unlucky in my friends; but in two or three instances the course of things has been like this: I have given way to them in everything for a time, and they, I suppose, thinking me rather a silly fellow, have got me to do things for them which they had no right to ask, and have even treated me in a rude manner, till at last I could stand it no longer and have been obliged to quarrel with them. Then I have suffered great pain through the rupture, just as I suppose another man might suffer through losing the woman he loved. I generally used to fall asleep thinking of one of those I loved, and if I had quarreled with him I could not go to sleep comfortably. I generally fancied myself embracing some one before falling asleep and went on with the imagination till I had an erection, then an emission, which seems to me to be involuntary.

"Last year I had a more painful experience than I had ever had before. I had a quarrel, under peculiar circumstances, with two brothers for whom I had a great affection. My feelings were so extreme that I fell almost into a state of imbecility and I sat at home for days doing nothing and taking no interest in anything. My family sent for the doctor, who thought my mind was affected, and recommended that I should be taken to a Hydro for change of air and scene. My sister went with me to a Hydro, where she got me to see the doctor. I told him part of what I have told you, and he walked out without saying a word. He would not see me again, and recommended my sister to take me to a specialist, which meant a specialist in insanity. I had no objection; I thought an alienist might possibly have some sense. So we went to one who keeps a private lunatic asylum. I think he had been told about the case pre-

viciously by the Hydro doctor, and when I began to tell him he would hardly listen. He at once said that such inclinations were unnatural, and had evidently made up his mind that I was insane. He offered my sister, indeed, to certify me at once as insane. I had got into a bad condition from want of sleep and did not seem to care for anything. However, he gave me a sleeping draught, and in the morning I woke up feeling better. I resolved, whatever happened, I would not pass my days in a lunatic asylum. I would rather commit suicide. So I put a bold face on the matter and told the doctor in the plainest language what my case really was. I convinced him that I was not insane, but he evidently had the worst opinion of me, and said he had never heard of anything like it except in the case of Oscar Wilde. I thought that showed extraordinary ignorance in a doctor, and merely for the pleasure of shocking him I professed great sympathy with Oscar Wilde. However, the tussle with the doctor seemed to revive me, and I felt better for my visit to the asylum.

"To me what other people call unnatural is the most natural of all conditions. In any case the word 'unnatural' is really a stupid word, as whatever *is* must be natural. My idea is that whatever takes place of a physical nature should be the natural effect of friendship, and I should shrink from seeking or hiring men for such purposes, just as I should feel a repugnance to going with prostitutes, supposing I wanted women. What I seem to need, to be more explicit, is a close embrace, or perhaps what I think is called intercrural connection. I feel no inclination for, but, on the contrary, a strong repugnance to, what the vulgar mind at once associates with 'manly love.' The doctor at the asylum said I should be all right if I had a woman. But it seems to me absurd to go in for a vice for which one has no inclination. It is really a matter of psychology, not of medicine, and poets know more about such matters than doctors. I only know—and but slightly—one young man who has, I believe, similar inclinations to myself."

CASE XI.—T. D., aged 20, now at the University, knows of nothing abnormal in his ancestry. His brother has homosexual tendencies, but is also attracted to women. A sister, who is very religious, states that she has little or no sexual inclinations. They were all of a dreamy disposition when young, to the disgust of their teachers.

"When I was a child (before I went to school at 9)," he writes, "I was already of an affectionate disposition, an affection turned readily to either sex. No boy was the cause of my inclinations, which were quite spontaneous. (No doubt, part of the cause may be found in our social system, by which ladies are rather drawing-room creatures to be treated with distant respect.) When I was 10, at a preparatory school, I first began to form attachments with other boys of my own age, in which I always had regard to physical beauty. It is this stage, in which the

sexual element is latent, that Shelley speaks of as preceding love in ardent natures.

"At 12 I learned masturbation, apparently by instinct, and, I regret to say, practiced it to excess for the next seven years, always secretly and with shame, and often with the accompaniment of prurient imaginings which did not prevent my relations with those I loved being of a very spiritual nature. Masturbation was often practiced daily, with bursts of repentance and abstinence, latterly more rarely. But until I was 15 I really knew nothing of sexual matters, and it was not till I was at least 17 that I was conscious of sexual desire, which I repressed with shame.

"Owing to excessive self-abuse, I am unable to emit except manually, but desire is strong. I think naked contact would suffice, and in any case intercrural connection. *Pædicatio* and *fellatio* I abhor. I love boys between the ages of 12 and 15; they must be of my own class, refined, and lovable. I only desire the active masculine part. I now regard my inclinations as natural and normal to me. The difficulty is that of leading the other party to regard it as such, besides the young age required and clandestine nature of proceedings necessary. The moral difficulties of circumstances are so strong that I have little hope of ever gratifying my passion fully. I have found myself deceived in the character of the boy twice. The last friendship lasted three years, during which time I only saw him naked two or three times (this caused erection), never touched him pruriently, and only kissed him once.

"I have never found a satisfactory object of my affections, and my happiness, perhaps my health, have been seriously injured. At my public school a master helped me to a truer understanding of these things. The merely animal sodomy which exists in many public schools was unknown. What I learned of sex I learned for myself. I am recommended to turn my aspirations to the abstract universal maid; but so far at least I cannot do it.

"Male Greek statuary and the *Phædrus* of Plato have had a great, though only confirmatory, influence on my feelings. My ideal is that of Theocritus, XIII, wherein Hercules was bringing Hylas to the perfect measure of a man. My first thought is the good of my friend, but, except for the good subjective influence of passion, I have failed utterly.

"I am very tall, dark, rather strong, fond of games, though I do not excel, owing to short sight. I am English, though I have French blood, which may account for an unreservedly passionate disposition. Though unlike other people, I am not in the least feminine, nor has anyone thought so to my knowledge. I can whistle easily and well. I am so masculine that I cannot even conceive of passive sexual pleasure in women, much less in men. (That is one of the difficulties in boy-love.) My affections are inextricably bound up in the ideals of protection of one weaker than myself. In the earlier days, when sexuality was less con-

scious, this was a great source of romantic feeling, the glamour of which is rather departing. I cannot understand love of adult males, much less if they are of lower class, and the idea of prostitution is nauseous to me.

"I think I may say that I have the esthetic and moral sense very strongly ingrained. Indeed, they are largely synonymous with me. I have no dramatic aptitude, and, though I flatter myself that my taste is good in music, I have no knowledge of music. If I have a favorite color, it is a dark crimson or blue, of the nature of old stained glass. I derive great pleasure from all literary and pictorial art and architecture; indeed, art of all kinds. I have facility in writing personal lyrical verse; it affords me relief.

"I think my inversion must be congenital, as the desire of contact with those boys I loved began before masturbation and has lasted through private and public resorts and into university life. The other sex does not attract me, but I am very fond of children, girls as well as boys. (If there is sexuality in this, which I trust there is not, it is latent.)

"I have met with no cases of real inversion that I know of, and very few of temporary homosexuality. At school the idea was held in abhorrence by an enormous majority, and public opinion is a strong factor. The result was that the few cases in my time involved only characters who were really gross and vulgar. You must not put my certainty down to ignorance; — is a small school in point of numbers, and 'a powerful place for knowing what your neighbor's got for dinner.' The authorities were very ill judged in making a fuss about friendship between unequals in age in one or two cases of fellows of a good character. The result of opposition was that what was rare is now common; but gratification is still under the strong ban of public opinion."

CASE XII.—Aged 24. Father and mother both living; the latter is of a better social standing than the father. He is much attached to his mother, and she gives him some sympathy. He has a brother who is normally attracted to women. He himself has never been attracted to women, and takes no interest in them nor in their society.

At the age of 4 he first became conscious of an attraction for older males. From the ages of 11 and 19, at a large grammar-school, he had relationships with about one hundred boys. Needless to add, he considers homosexuality extremely common in schools. It was, however, the Oscar Wilde case which first opened his eyes to the wide prevalence of homosexuality, and he considers that the publicity of that case has done much, if not to increase homosexuality, at all events to make it more conspicuous and outspoken.

He is now attracted to youths about 5 or 6 years younger than himself; they must be good looking. He has never perverted a boy not already inclined to homosexuality. In his relationship he does not feel

exclusively like a male or a female: sometimes one, sometimes the other. He is often liked, he says, because of his masculine character.

He is fully developed and healthy, well over middle height, inclined to be plump, with full face and small moustache. He smokes many cigarettes and cannot get on without them. Though his manners are very slightly if at all feminine, he acknowledges many feminine ways. He is fond of jewelry, until lately always wore a bangle, and likes women's rings; he is very particular about fine ties, and uses very delicate women's handkerchiefs. He has always had a taste for music and sings. He has a special predilection for green; it is the predominant color in the decoration of his room, and everything green appeals to him. He finds that the love of green (and also of violet and purple) is very widespread among his inverted friends.

CASE XIII.—Artist, aged 34. "The earliest sex-impression that I am conscious of," he writes, "is at the age of 9 or 10 falling in love with a handsome boy who must have been about two years my senior. I do not recollect ever having spoken to him, but my desire, so far as I can recall, was that he should seize hold of and handle me. I have a distinct impression yet of how pleasurable even physical pain or cruelty would have been at his hands. (I have noticed that in young children it is often difficult to differentiate the sexual emotions from what in the grown up would be definite cruelty.)

"It must have been at about this time that I discovered—entirely by myself—the act of masturbation. The process grew up quite naturally, though I cannot but think that the cooped-up life in a London street and a London school, with want of physical exercise, as well as want of landscape, color, and beautiful form, had much to do with it. The tone of the school I was at was singularly clean, but I question whether the vaunted cleanliness of tone of day-schools can compensate for the open life and large discipline of an English public school.

"How far the rather frequent masturbation between the ages of 10 and 13 may have had to do with weakly health I do not know, but when I was 12 I was taken by my mother to a famous doctor. He made no inquiries of a sexual nature, but he advised that I should be sent away from London. He had a sentimental horror of violent games, etc., for boys, and put aside various suggested public schools. Finally I was sent to a private school at the sea-side.

"The private school was clean and wholesome. The plunge into the sexual coeytus of the great public school that followed was effectually sudden. In my day ——— was a perfect stew of uncleanness. There was plenty of incontinence, not much cruelty, no end of dirty conversation, and a great deal of genuine affection, even to heroism, shown among the boys in their relations to one another. All these things were treated by masters and boys alike as more or less unholy, with the result that they

were either sought after or flung aside, according to the sexual or emotional instinct of each. No attempt was made at discrimination. A kiss was as unclean as the act of *fellatio*, and no one had any gauge or principle whatever on which to guide the cravings of boyhood.

"My first initiation into the mysteries of sex was at the hands of the dormitory servant, who showed me his penis when he woke me in the mornings, and masturbated me when he gave me my hot bath on a Saturday night. This old reprobate of 45 committed the act of *fellatio* with most of the boys in turn as he went the dormitory rounds. For the older lads I cannot speak, but over us younger ones of 14 and 15 he exercised a sort of unholy terror and fascination. He was very popular; we came to him like doves to a snake. When I revisited my old school many years later he was occupying a very responsible position in the college chapel, and I noticed that he wore that expression of sly reverence which I think I can now instantly detect when I see it in a man.

"For the rest the dormitory was boisterous and lewd, and there was a good deal of bullying, which probably did little harm. My principal recollection now is of the filthy mystery of foul talk, that I neither cared for nor understood. What I really needed, like all the other boys, was a little timely help over the sexual problems, but this we none of us got, and each had to work out his own principle of conduct for himself. It was a long, difficult, and wasteful process, and I cannot but believe that many of us failed in the endeavor. We had come unprepared with any advice. The principle upon which we were apparently trained was the repression of every instinct. My mother was ignorant from innocence, my father from indifference, and so between them I was sent out helpless. A mother incurs great responsibility in sending her child away unprepared. A parent should not seek to shift his responsibility upon the school-master. Love alone should be the fount from which revelations should flow; the master, from the very nature of his position, cannot reveal.

"An imminent break-down in health—due, it would now appear, to quite obvious causes—relieved me from the purgatory of the college dormitory, and I was removed to one of the private houses. These establishments were considered more select and less 'rough.' The social atmosphere was, however, perhaps more unwholesome, because more effeminate, and was full of noble young sucklings. The nominal head of the house under normal conditions might have been a real leader; as it was, the real head of the house was a gilded young pariah, fairly low down in the school and full of hypocrisy and unnatural lusts. The boy who occupied the cubicle next to mine was also a bad case of sexual misdirection, though he had not the social distinction to make him quite so refined a terror. I had every opportunity of watching him until, two years later, he was fortunately asked to leave. He talked bawd from morning till night, got drunk on one or two occasions, masturbated con-

stantly without concealment, had several of the younger boys *inter femora*, though without evincing any care or affection for them, and gave one the impression of having been born for a brothel. His one redeeming quality was an element of good nature: a characteristic one often finds among such as are selfish and irresponsible. I have since been told that he has gone completely to the dogs. Whether this young cub's sexual instincts could have been turned or guided I do not know; but in a rougher and simpler life than that of a public school, in a more open and less hypocritical atmosphere, he might, perhaps, have been licked into better shape. Hypocrisy is a vice, however, that schoolboys themselves are fortunately free from. It comes later. The tone among the boys was frankly and violently unclean, though unclean not from instinct, but from want of direction and from repression.

"I have not a single happy recollection of this period of my school-life. Yet out of this morass of misbegotten virtues I plucked my first blossom of genuine affection. I call it a blossom because it never ripened even to flower. I had been given the extreme of filth to feed upon at the outset, and I now found for myself the extreme of chastity. It will be a matter of life-long regret to me that the love which was the lode-star of my school-years was never fulfilled or set upon a sound basis of comradeship.

"When I was about 16½ years old there came into the house a boy about two years younger than myself, and who became the absorbing thought of my school-days. I do not remember a moment, from the time I first saw him to the time I left school, that I was not in love with him, and the affection was reciprocated, if somewhat reservedly. He was always a little ahead of me in books and scholarship, but as our affection ripened we spent most of our spare time together, and he received my advances much as a girl who is being wooed, a little mockingly, perhaps, but with real pleasure. He allowed me to fondle and caress him, but our intimacy never went further than a kiss, and about that even was the slur of shame; there was always a barrier between us, and we never so much as whispered to one another concerning those things of which all the school obscenely talked. Any connection between our own emotions and the sexual morals of the school never occurred to us. In fact, we lived a dream-life of chastity that could not relate itself to any human conditions. This was suddenly broken in upon. My friend was very beautiful and an object of attraction to others. That some of the elder boys had made offers of sexual intercourse to him I knew, but to him, as to me, that was unspeakable wickedness. One day I heard that four or five of these suitors of his had mishandled him: they had, I believe, taken off his trousers and attempted to masturbate him. The offense was probably horse-play of an animal nature; to me it seemed an unpardonable offense. The matter had been reported to the master by a

servant, but confirmatory evidence was needed before punishment could follow. I was torn asunder by passions I could not then analyze and in the end committed the greatest of school-boy crimes,—I sneaked. The action under the circumstances was courageous, but I was indifferent so long as the boy I loved judged me rightly. The result was that at the close of the term four or five of the senior boys were 'asked to leave.' The remaining brief period of my school-life, which had previously been a living hell, became really happy. That this should have been brought about to the harm of four or five boys whose sin, after all, was but a misdirected impulse for which the system was responsible, seems to me now all very wrong. Of the boys sent away, however, certainly three have made honorable careers. For my friend and I, we became more afraid of each other than before; as our affections increased, so our fear of them increased also. The friendship was too ethereal to live; but even yet we still have a deep respect for one another.

"When at the age of 19 I left school I was allowed to knock about for a year before entering college. During this time I picked up a sexual experience that may or may not have been a valuable one. I certainly look back upon it now with regret, if not with horror. My father had discovered, some months before this date, that I was in the habit of masturbating, and he gave me what he conceived to be the right counsel under the circumstances: 'If you do this,' he said, 'you will never be able to use your penis with a woman. Therefore your best plan will be to go with a prostitute. Should you do this, however, you will probably pick up a beastly disease. Therefore the safest way would be to do it abroad, if you get the chance, for there the houses are licensed.' Having delivered himself of this advice, he troubled himself no further in the matter, but left me to work out my own destiny. The great physician, to whom I was taken about this time, also gave me his advice on this point. 'Masturbation,' he said, 'is death. A number of young men come to me with the same story. I tell them they are killing themselves, and you will kill yourself too.' The doctor's hope was apparently to frighten his young patients into what he conceived to be natural conditions of life, and one went away from him with the impression that every sexual manifestation in one's self was a physical infirmity, due to one's own moral weakness. It took me some time before I could make up my mind to follow my father's advice, but after a period of real moral agony I deliberately and entirely in cold blood acted upon it. I sought out a scarlet woman in the streets of ——— and went home with her. From something she said to me I knew that I gave her pleasure, and she asked me to come to her again. This I did twice, but without any real pleasure. The whole thing was too sordid and soulless, and the man who decides to take an evil medicine regularly has first to make up his mind that he really needs it.

"At about the same time I chanced to be, for a few months, in a German university town, and I determined, as I had the opportunity, to carry the parental advice to the logical conclusion. I tried a licensed house. The place was clean and decent, and the conditions, I take it, such as one would normally find in any properly-regulated continental city. But to me the whole thing appeared unspeakably horrible. It was a purely commercial transaction, and it had not even the redeeming element of risk to one's self, or of offense against a social or disciplinary code. I came away feeling that I had touched bottom in my sexual experiences, and I understood what it was that Faust saw when the red mouse sprang from the mouth of the witch in the Walpurgis dance.

"These were the only occasions upon which I have had sexual intercourse with women. Looking back to them now, they appear to me to have been almost inevitable; but if I had my life over again I would shun them as I would a lethal draught. I believe I came out of the fire unscathed; probably, indeed, it did me good, in the sense that it made it possible for me to look deeper into life; though to what extent seeing the torments of the damned makes us do this, perhaps only a Dante could tell. To gain knowledge at the expense of the shame and misery of others I hold to be fundamentally wrong and immoral. What is to me, however, the chief and bitterest thought is that I flung away the first spring of manhood where I got no love in return. His virginity is, or should be, as glorious and sacred a possession to a youth as to a maiden; to be guarded jealously; to be given only at the call of love, to one who loves him—be it comrade, mistress, or wife—and whom he can love in return.

"The full university-life into which I now entered at the age of 20 brought with it a flood of new ideas, feelings, and sensations. The friendships I made there will always remain the central ones in my life. Up to my last term at college at the age of 24 I still wore my chain-mail of artificial chastity; but then a change gradually set in, and I began to understand the relationship of the physical phenomena of sex to its intellectual and imaginative manifestations. (I was not destined to fully realize this for some years and then exclusively through and out of my own personal experience.) It was the study of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* that first brought me light upon this question. Hitherto I had kept the two things locked up, as it were, in two separate air-tight compartments,—my friendships in one, my sex-instincts in another,—to be kept under and repressed by the public-school code as I conceived it.

"It is needless to say that I was continually troubled by the customary sex-phenomena: erotic dreams, loss of semen, troublesome erections at night, etc. These I repressed, as best I could, by habitual masturbation and by the regular diet and exercise which academic life made

possible. At one time, for the period of a year I should say, I tried to overcome the desire for masturbation by gradual stages, on the principle of the drunkard's cure by which he took every day less tipple by the insertion of one pebble more in his bottle. I marked on my calendar the erotic dreams and the nights on which I masturbated, and sought gradually to extend the intervening periods. Six weeks, however, was the longest time for which I was able to abstain."

A few years later the writer of this communication formed an intimate relationship (in which he did not make the first advances) with a youth, some years younger than himself and of lower social class, whose development he was able to assist. "But for my part," he remarks, "I owe him as much as I gave him, for his love lighted up the gold of affection that was in me and consumed the dross. It was from him that I first learned that there was no such things as a hard-and-fast line between the physical and the spiritual in friendship." This relationship lasted for some years, when the young man married; its effects are described as very beneficial to both parties; all the sexual troubles vanished, together with the desire to masturbate. "Everything in life began to sing with joy, and what little of real creative work I may have done I attribute largely to the power of work that was born in me during those years."

CASE XIV.—"I was born in England 34 years ago. My parents were both English, and they married young. My grandfather married at an advanced age, having been in the army. My duties are clerical, and bring me into touch with a wide circle of friends and acquaintances.

"At an early age for a boy I was sent to boarding-school, being scarcely 8 years old. Till then I do not remember to have had any sexual feeling. As soon as I went to school I developed deep affection for those of my schoolfellows who were well built and handsome. I spent much time in devising means of meeting them. With one boy in particular, who now occupies a distinguished position in society, I was very friendly, having for him a strong sexual passion, which I did not understand—nor he either—though we used always to creep into one or the other's bed every night. I suffered from erections at the thought of handsome boys ever since I was 8 years old, but I did not understand anything about sexual matters until I was 15. During those years of school-life, though I suffered erections at the slightest marks of affection from boys, I never took the slightest notice of girls or women, nor felt any sexual desires for them. All I wanted to do was to press my body against that of the boys I loved, or to handle their sexual organs. At 15 a boy one day induced me to rub his parts, and he did the same to me. I did not like the sensation at all; but he induced me to continue practicing on him till he had an emission. I did not have the experience, and he told me I was too young. I used after that occasionally to rub my

own parts, but, there being no emission, I concluded that there was something wrong with me, and that I was impotent. Soon after I was 16, however, another boy accosted me whom I was very fond of, and I had an emission in a very few moments. After that for some years I used mutually to gratify myself with the same boy-friend as often as three or four times a week, but we never attempted, nor had any inclination to attempt, penetration of the anus; from this practice I used to invariably find that we shrank as unnatural and beastly.

"My deep attachment to my friends, and a freeness of intercourse and conversation, disinclined me from solitary masturbation, which I only practiced when absent from my boy-friends for a long time. I never suffered much from erotic dreams, but, when I did, I either had no consciousness of sexual emission, or, if I had, it was invariably dreaming that I was with some boy-friend. It was only once that I suffered from any sexual passion for a woman, and in that case she was boyish in manner, and much like a particular friend of mine. I did not, however, attempt to have any sexual relations with her; otherwise, I have never had, nor have now, any sexual passion for women; nor have I had relations of any kind with them. Some one showed me, when I was about 20, a number of photographs of nude women, but they only repulsed me. If I were to marry it would be solely for the sake of friendship, and I should be bound to explain before contracting any such alliance that I should not probably sleep with my wife at all.

"I always preferred as friends boys of good appearance; but I have had as friends boys who were plain in appearance. And as we have grown up to manhood and middle age we have not been ashamed of our earlier affection, but have always respected and loved one another more than we probably should otherwise have done.

"In general, I gather that public-school, barrack, and ship life and offices,—such as the telegraph and factories,—where boys are engaged in large numbers, tend to develop a passion which freer intercourse with girls and women would, in many cases, turn into the ordinary accepted channels of sexual passion. I notice that boys who work in cotton-mills with girls almost invariably have frequent attempted sexual connection with girls; but, on the other hand, that boys who are merely thrown together without women do in very many cases acquire a habit of mutual sexual gratification, or of sexual desire in cases where shyness prevents acknowledgment of the passion.

"My habits are friendly, and instinctively I can judge whether a boy's mind is on the sexual passion. Many times boys have thanked me for talking to them and telling them my views of the question. Public-school boys and boys in comfortable positions in life are distinctly more addicted to homosexual passion than boys in poor circumstances. My moral view of the matter is that secret masturbation is an absolute evil,

that the economic conditions of women make it altogether unfair to use them as merely channels for satisfying sexual passion, that physical continence is impossible, and that it is, therefore, better to spread abroad that spirit of open comradeship which is natural to many men and boys, and which results when the body is impassioned in mutual sex-satisfaction. Against this stands the law, which is a relic of the ages gone by. It is a farce, where every public-school boy knows, and, in most cases, practices, homosexual habits, to attach a penalty to the practice. It might as reasonably be enacted that adultery with women is a penal offense.

"Personally, I enjoy good health, and am not subject to any disease that I am aware of, mentally or physically."

CASE XV.—"I am an Englishman, 30 years of age, high bred, refined, and sensitive. I had, I believe, a paternal and maternal uncle who were both sexually inverted. They both died before they were 40. I cannot remember when I did not take an interest in my own sex. I did not discover the act of masturbation before I was 10, and from that time up to 21 confined myself entirely to that, though I conceived violent passions for schoolfellows unknown to them. I have scarcely ever dreamt of any sexual intercourse with men, and do not have erotic dreams.

"I am capable of great regard and liking for women when I deem them worthy of it; otherwise I have a strong repulsion to them, and have never touched a woman. I consider that in my particular case marriage would be a great wrong to the woman. I am attracted by most forms of physical beauty, in outline, coloring, feature, etc. There is no special relation to age or class, though for a great friendship I would much prefer a gentleman. I do not practice *pedicatio*, and very rarely *fellatio*. I like embracements, 'spooning,' and real kissing, followed by mutual masturbation.

"In appearance I am more beautiful than handsome, with very large eyes, and Grecian cast of features. I resemble my mother, and have inherited from her a delicate and pretty complexion. At school I never cared much for games, preferring to walk alone or with a chosen or intimate friend. I am of sedentary habits and fond of hearing music. Penis is very large.

"I am a firm believer in the absolute naturalness of my sexual inclinations. I am depressed at times, especially when I abstain from every form of erotic indulgence. I am not vain, except in the ordinary sense of being anxious to please, and have a feeling of surprise when anyone I like evinces a liking for me."

CASE XVI.—Englishman, aged 51; government official. Nothing remarkable in ancestry, so far as he is aware; on his father's side there have been many soldiers; his mother's family he describes as "wild and dare-devil, with sparks of genius." At a private school he went to as a

young boy, he was "spooned," but not taught any tricks. When 14 years of age a young officer on a visit to his brothers got into bed with him and had him *inter femora* several times. From that time onward he has always desired this done to him with some violence, or to take himself the active part. He has occasionally masturbated, but only *faute de mieux*. Erotic dreams are rare and have never been vivid; they have always been of nude males. He has a strong repugnance to women. It is with difficulty that he restrains himself from being rude to a woman defective in tact or breeding, nor do good looks or intellect affect this strong prejudice. He has never attempted connection with a woman, and scarcely even desired it. He is unmarried, but has no absolute aversion to the idea of marriage. He is attracted to men, irrespective, to a large extent, of their calling or condition, or even age. But they must be virile and strongly built. He finds that uniform or livery (soldiers, sailors, grooms, and footmen) is a temptation. He is not attracted to the very young nor to the effeminate. He abhors *pedicatio*.

He is tall and fair, with light, very soft, hair, white soft skin, with moustache, but no beard. As boy and as man he has had no taste for field sports, but is fond of music, books, art, and the sea. He smokes freely; cannot whistle. In youth and early manhood his seminal capacity was singularly great. He is scholarly and especially linguistic in tastes.

He loathes his homosexual inclinations, although perfectly natural to him, and considers that all such abnormal sexual tendencies concern the doctor and the moralist, not the legislator.

CASE XVII.—Scotchman, aged 38. His paternal ancestors were normal, so far as he knows. His mother belonged to a very eccentric old Celtic family. Soon after 5 he became so enamored of a young shepherd that the boy had to be sent away. He practiced masturbation many years before the age of puberty, and attaches importance to this as a factor in the evolution of his homosexual life.

He has had erotic dreams rarely about men, about women more frequently. While indifferent to women, he has no repulsion toward them. He has had connection with women two or three times, but without experiencing the same passionate emotions as with men.

He would like a son, but he has never been able to get up the necessary amount of passion to lead to marriage.

He has always had a sentimental and Platonic affection for men. Of late years he has formed two friendships with adults of an affectionate and also erotic character. He cares little for anything beyond mutual masturbation and kissing; what he desires is the love of the male.

In appearance there is nothing abnormal about him except an air of youth. He is vigorous both in body and mind, and has enormous power of resisting fatigue. He is an excellent man of business. Is a patient student. He sees no harm in his homosexual passions. He is

averse to promiscuity. His ideal is a permanent union which includes sexual relations.

CASE XVIII.—Englishman, of independent means, aged 35, belonging to an ordinarily healthy family, so far as he knows. He was the only son, and was brought up at home with two sisters until the age of 14. At school was a delicate, effeminate boy, shunning games for which he was not strong enough and had no inclination, and fond of music, pictures, and poetry. He was also very religious, even to the verge of hysteria.

He has been intensely attracted to men so far back as he can recollect. The only women who attracted him were much older than himself, and the feeling was never sexual. At school he had only one love-affair with a comrade; he was restrained by religious feeling, at the expense (he has since been inclined to think) of his health. At the university he formed a great friendship with another sexual invert, which lasted for nearly ten years, although the two friends had little in common beyond their sexual feelings.

Between the ages of 19 and 27 he was accustomed to masturbate. He does not, however, consider that this was voluntary; it took place in a sort of dreamy state between sleeping and waking, and was accompanied by lascivious thoughts and dreams of men. From the age of puberty he has suffered intensely from erotic dreams, and at the present time, when his sexual instincts are not satisfied, they occur at least once a week. It has not, indeed, been at all uncommon for them to occur three times in one night. At first they were of women, but now almost invariably of men. Women do not attract him, and he has never had sexual intercourse with one, although when about the age of 21 he tried hard to force himself to go with women, never, however, proceeding so far as the act of coition. Intellectually he likes women very much, and women are among his greatest friends. He would gladly marry, as he longs for companionship and for children, but he dreads inability to satisfy a woman and the danger of falling in love with a man. He is mostly attracted to youths of from 18 to 24, slightly built, and pretty rather than handsome. Big muscular men have little attraction for him. He finds that mere contact of body to body is sufficient to produce the physical effects and pleasure of coition. *Pædicatio* disgusts him, unless he is passionately devoted to a person who insists upon it, and even then he feels it to be debasing and bestial. *Fellatio* excites him intensely. He finds that moderate intercourse with his own sex does him good, and he feels better and stronger for it.

Although formerly effeminate, he is not now of unmanly appearance. He is fond of boating and walking, but of no other active pursuits. He is musical, and writes a good deal; has published. Is very susceptible to scents and colors, smokes, and is fond of society, dining out a good deal when in London. He prides himself that, though his instincts

are not manly, he is able to hide them with some success, and that he does not look like a sexual invert. His opinion regarding the moral aspects of the matter may be given in his own words: "My feeling about this subject is a very mixed one and hard to define. It worries and depresses me intensely at times. I have had two or three great passions for men younger than myself. Sometimes they begin with mere sexual appetite, but this is always secondary, and my one wish is to devote myself and what little means I have simply to the welfare of the person I love. But I must have entire possession, and am madly jealous. I would give anything not to be an urning, and I have tried and fought against my instincts for years by every means—religion, hygiene, etc.—I can think of. I feel sure it is natural to me, but that it is disease I do not feel certain. Of its extraordinary prevalence I am assured, for I have found it everywhere—I have traveled a good deal—and in all stations of life."

CASE XIX.—Irish, aged 36; knows of nothing unusual in his ancestry. His tastes are masculine in every respect. He is strong, healthy, and fond of exercises and sports. The sexual instincts are abnormally developed; and he confesses to an enormous appetite for almost everything,—food, drink, smoking, and all the good things of life.

At about the age of 14 he practiced masturbation with other boys of the same age, and also had much pleasure in being in bed with an uncle with whom the same thing was practiced. Later on he practiced masturbation with every boy or man with whom he was on terms of intimacy; to have been in bed with anyone without anything of the sort taking place would have made sleep impossible, and rendered him utterly wretched. His erotic dreams at first were concerned with women, but more recently they are usually of young men, and very rarely of women. He is mostly indifferent to women, as also they have always been to him. Although good looking, strong, and masculine, he has never known a woman to be in love with him. When about the age of 18 he imagined he was in love with a girl; and he had often, between the ages of 20 to 30, cohabited with prostitutes. He remembers on one occasion, many years ago, having connection with a woman seven or eight times in one night, and then having to masturbate at noon the next day. He is unmarried, and thinks it is unlikely that he ever will marry, but he adds that if a healthy, handsome, and intelligent woman fell in love with him he might change his mind, as it would be lonely to be old and alone, and he would like to have children.

He is never attracted to men older than himself, and prefers youths between the ages of 18 and 25. They may be of any class, but he does not like common people, and is not attached to uniforms or liveries. The requisite attractions are an intelligent eye, a voluptuous mouth, and "intelligent teeth." "If Alcibiades himself tried to woo me," he says,

"and had bad teeth, his labor would be in vain." He has sometimes been the active participant in *pædicatio*, and has tried the passive rôle out of curiosity, but prefers *fellatio*.

He does not consider that he is doing anything wrong, and regards his acts as quite natural. His only regret is the absorbing nature of his passions, which obtrude themselves in season and out of season, seldom or never leaving him quiet, and sometimes making his life a hell. Yet he doubts whether he would change himself, even if he had the power.

CASE XX.—Age 25; is employed in an ordinary workshop, and lives in the back alley of a large town in which he was born and bred. Fair, slight, and refined in appearance. The sexual organs are normal and well developed, and the sexual passions strong. His mother is a big masculine woman, and he is much attached to her. Father is slight and weakly. He has seven brothers and one sister. Homosexual desires began at an early age, though he does not seem to have come under any perverse influences. He is not inclined to masturbation. Erotic dreams are always of males. He declares he never cared for any woman except his mother, and that he could not endure to sleep with a woman.

He says he generally falls in love with a man at first sight—as a rule, some one older than himself and of higher class—and longs to sleep and be with him. In one case he fell in love with a man twice his own age, and would not rest until he had won his affection. He does not much care what form the sexual relation takes. He is sensitive and feminine by nature, gentle, and affectionate. He is neat and orderly in his habits, and fond of housework; helps his mother in washing, etc. He appears to think that male attachments are perfectly natural.

CASE XXI.—Englishman, 31 years of age, an actor. He remarks that his father and mother were passionless, and that this was possibly a cause of neuropathic disorder. (It may have been a symptom of it.) Homosexual desires began so early that it is impossible to trace them, and school-friendships were serious passions. Masturbation had, he declares, nothing to do with his inclinations. His erotic dreams are always of boys, and he has an intense physical aversion to women. He is attracted to individuals who are slightly effeminate, especially boys between the ages of 14 and 18. He practices complete pederasty, or, as he expresses it, "the utmost act of possession, because it is possession." He is of medium height, fair hair and skin; dislikes violent amusements, and is a lover of poetry and art. He believes that, kept within bounds, this love is right, and capable of being made noble,—far more so than the love of woman,—and that to call it unnatural is grossly unjust and untrue.

CASE XXII.—Gentleman, of Scotch extraction, without profession, aged 27. "I had an uncle on the maternal side whom I have every reason to believe had the same inclinations as myself. Homosexual tastes began to show themselves about the age of 12, when I was devotedly attached

to a cousin of about the same age, who has since married. The habit of self-abuse has always had a great hold on me, and it is only within a short time that I have broken myself of the practice. It is especially strong when I am away from sympathetic friends and opportunity of meeting others of similar tastes. I am seldom troubled with erotic dreams; on the few occasions on which they have taken place the exciting object has generally assumed the form of some boy I have known.

"Sexual intercourse with women, even in imagination, is absolutely repulsive. I enjoy their society, particularly that of married women. On the very few occasions, many years since, when I had intercourse with women, I have never derived the slightest pleasure from the act. I am not married. I regard marriage personally as a necessary evil. I prefer boys about 17 to 20 years of age, though occasionally slightly older men attract me. I like the smooth, hairless face and body of a boy; a slight feminine trait adds to the attraction, but it must not be too developed. I prefer dark boys to fair. They must be of my own class of life, and refined; I am particularly sensitive to charm of voice and mode of expression, and any coarseness in this particular has the effect of repelling me.

"In the case of a few boys I have indulged in *pedicatio*, but only when they are particularly attractive to me. As a general rule, I am satisfied with such pleasure as can be obtained by the use of the hand, and, indeed, prefer it. The utter *abandon* of the person with me is necessary to any degree of pleasure, and the acts must be mutual.

"I am tall, slight, and dark, with a small moustache. I have always been delicate and averse to all rough games. I suffer a great deal from 'nerves,' and am always terribly sensitive to jarring or disturbing influence. I am passionately devoted to music, and, indeed, to art of all kinds, though through bad health my powers have not been developed to their proper extent.

"I consider the taste for sexual relations with my own sex to be perfectly natural, as either having been inherited or as the result of having been led astray by an older man than myself at the age of puberty. [It will be observed that the word 'natural' is here used in a peculiar sense.] At the same time I look upon it as a curse, for it is a moral barrier between the ordinary run of mankind and myself. I have contempt for those who allow the passion to conquer them, and whose life is spent in eternally seeking for people of like tastes. I never regard the act of sexual intercourse as sin, and, if comparisons must be drawn, consider this particular form as more harmless in its effects than the love of the opposite sex."

CASE XXIII.—Englishman, born in Paris; aged 26; an actor. He belongs to an old English family; his father, so far as he is aware, had no homosexual inclinations, nor had any of his ancestors on the paternal

side; but he believes that his mother's family, and especially a maternal uncle who had a strong feeling for beauty of form, were more akin to him in this respect.

His earliest recollections show an attraction for males. At children's parties he incurred his father's anger by kissing other small boys, and his feelings grew in intensity with years. He has never practiced self-abuse, and seldom had erotic dreams; when they do occur they are about males.

His physical feeling for women is one of absolute indifference. He admires beautiful women in the same way as one admires beautiful scenery. At the same time he likes to talk with clever women, and has formed many friendships with frank, pure, and cultivated English girls, for whom he has the utmost admiration and respect. Marriage is impossible, because physical pleasure with women is impossible; he has tried, but cannot obtain, the slightest sexual feeling or excitement.

He especially admires youths (though they must not be immature) from 16 or 17 to about 25. The type which physically appeals to him most, and to which he appeals, is fair, smooth-skinned, gentle, rather girlish and effeminate, with the effeminacy of the *ingénue*, not the *cocotte*. His favorite to attract him must be submissive and womanly; he likes to be the man and the master. On this point he adds: "The great passion of my life is an exception, and stands on an utterly-different level. It realizes an ideal of marriage in which neither is master, but both share a joint empire, and in which tyranny would be equally painful to both. But this friendship and love is for an equal, a year younger than myself, and does not preclude other and less creditable *liaisons*, physical constancy being impossible to men of our caliber."

Pædicitio is the satisfaction he prefers, provided he takes the active, never the passive, rôle. He is handsome, with broad shoulders, good figure, and somewhat classic type of face, with fine blue eyes. He likes boating and skating, though not cricket or foot-ball, and is usually ready for fun, but has, at the same time, a taste for reading.

He has no moral feelings on these matters; he regards them as outside ethics, mere matters of temperament and social feeling. If England were underpopulated he thinks he might possibly feel some slight pangs of remorse; but, as things are, he feels that in prostituting males rather than females he is doing a meritorious action.

CASE XXIV.—Englishman, 28 years of age, belonging to an old north-country family; of no profession. Fair, with blue eyes, of medium height, and rather thin; somewhat lacking in energy, and inclined to take life easily. He knows of no other case of inversion in his family, beyond a distant cousin who was the first to enlighten him on this subject when he was 20 years of age.

He has been more attracted to men than to women as long as he

can remember. He practiced masturbation as a boy, but was always much more excited when doing so with another boy than by himself. He has never, so far as he remembers, had any erotic dreams about women, but often about men. He has sometimes dreamed that he was being married to a woman by force and has awoke feeling utterly wretched. He has twice tried to have connection with prostitutes, but failed. He thus writes of his attitude: "I have had a very good experience of my feelings toward women, which I will relate. When I was about 19 years old (before I was enlightened by my cousin) I was thrown very much in the society of a most fascinating and pretty married woman of about 21 years of age. She had just been divorced, and it was generally supposed that I was very much in love with her, and, being young, I was proud of being thought so, and tried to make myself believe I was; but I never once during that time had the slightest desire to cohabit with her, and, although I used to 'spoon' her, I never got excited, or even had an erection. In fact, I always felt very nervous when in the presence of a woman. An unmarried girl simply bores me to death. When a boy, I always loved, with the greatest of devotion, boys of my own age, and would always have one special friend whom I would write most loving letters to. Now I prefer youths from 18 to 21 years of age; for the last three years I have loved one boy who was 16 years old when we first met; we both fell in love with one another the moment we met; we are at this moment as much in love with one another as it is possible to be. He is certainly the most manly boy I have ever met in my life."

He prefers active *paedication*, but passive *paedication* also gives him pleasure. On the moral aspects of the matter he writes: "My feeling as regards this love for men is that as long as it is reciprocal there is no harm, but when it is an act of prostitution I think it wrong, especially when practiced with boys at an age when they don't know their own minds." He adds that he always encourages the boy he is now living with to talk of women, because, although he feels sure the boy is as much inverted as he is himself, he regards him as not yet old enough to form an opinion of his own. There are some obvious fallacies in this attitude, but the subject markedly lacks reasoning power.

The next case I present in some detail; it is interesting as showing the mental and emotional development in a very radical case of sexual inversion.

CASE XXV.—Englishman, of independent means, aged 49. His father and his father's family were robust, healthy, and prolific. On his mother's side, phthisis, insanity, and eccentricity are traceable. He belongs to a large family, some of whom died in early childhood and at birth, while others are normal. He himself was a weakly and highly-

nervous child, subject to night-terrors and somnambulism, excessive shyness and religious disquietude.

Sexual consciousness awoke before the age of 8, when his attention was directed to his own penis. His nurse, while out walking with him one day, told him that when little boys grow up their penes fall off. The nursery-maid sniggered, and he felt that there must be something peculiar about the penis. He suffered from irritability of the prepuce, and the nurse powdered it before he went to sleep. There was no transition from this to self-abuse.

About the same time he became subject to curious half-waking dreams. In these he imagined himself the servant of several adult naked sailors; he crouched between their thighs and called himself their dirty pig, and by their orders he performed services for their genitals and buttocks which he contemplated and handled with relish. At about the same period when these visions began to come to him he casually heard that a man used to come and expose his person before the window of a room where the maids sat; this troubled him vaguely. Between the age of 8 and 11 he twice took the penis of a cousin into his mouth, after they had slept together; the feeling of the penis pleased him. When sleeping with another cousin, they used to lie with hands outstretched to cover each other's penis or nates. He preferred the nates, but his cousin the penis. Neither of these cousins was homosexual, and there was no attempt at mutual masturbation. He was in the habit of playing with five male cousins. One of these boys was unpopular with the others, and they invented a method of punishing him for supposed offenses. They sat around the room on chairs, each with his penis exposed, and the boy to be punished went around the room on his knees and took each penis into his mouth in turn. This was supposed to humiliate him. It did not lead to masturbation. On one occasion the child accidentally observed a boy who sat next to him in school playing with his penis and caressing it. This gave him a powerful uneasy sensation. With regard to all these points the subject observes that none of the boys with whom he was connected at this period, and who were exposed to precisely the same influences, became homosexual.

He was himself, from the first, indifferent to the opposite sex. In early childhood, and up to the age of 13, he had frequent opportunities of closely inspecting the sexual organs of girls, his playfellows. These roused no sexual excitement. On the contrary, the smell of the female parts affected him disagreeably. When he once saw a schoolfellow copulating with a little girl, it gave him a sense of mystical horror. Nor did the sight of the male organs arouse any particular sensations. He is, however, of opinion that, living with his sisters in childhood, he felt more curious about his own sex as being more remote from him. He showed no effeminacy in his preferences for games or work.

He went to a public school. Here he was provoked by boy friends to masturbate, but, though he often saw the act in process, it only inspired him with a sense of indecency. In his fifteenth year puberty commenced with nocturnal emissions, and, at the same time, he began to masturbate, and continued to do so about once a week, or once a fortnight, during a period of eight months; always with a feeling that that was a poor satisfaction and repulsive. His thoughts were not directed either to males or females while masturbating. He spoke to his father about these signs of puberty, and by his father's advice he entirely abandoned onanism; he only resumed the practice, to some extent, after the age of 30, when he was without male comradeship.

The nocturnal emissions, after he had abandoned self-abuse, became very frequent and exhausting. They were medically treated by tonics such as quinine and strychnine. He thinks this treatment exaggerated his neurosis.

All this time, no kind of sexual feeling for girls made itself felt. He could not understand what his schoolfellows found in women, or the stories they told about wantonness and the delight of coitus.

His old dreams about the sailors had disappeared. But now he enjoyed visions of beautiful young men and exquisite statues; he often shed tears when he thought of them. These dreams persisted for years. But another kind gradually usurped their place to some extent. These second visions took the form of the large erect organs of naked young grooms or peasants. These gross visions offended his taste and hurt him, though, at the same time, they evoked a strong, active desire for possession; he took a strange, poetic pleasure in the ideal form. But the seminal losses which accompanied both kinds of dreams were a perpetual source of misery to him.

There is no doubt that at this time—that is, between the 15th and 17th years—a homosexual diathesis had become established. He never frequented loose women, though he sometimes thought that would be the best way of combating his growing inclination for males. And he thinks that he might have brought himself to indulge freely in purely sexual pleasure with women if he made their first acquaintance in a male costume, as *débardeuses*, *Cherubino*, court-pages, young halberdiers, as it is only when so clothed that women on the stage or in the ball-room have excited him.

His ideal of morality and fear of venereal infection, more than physical incapacity, kept him what is called chaste. He never dreamed of women, never sought their society, never felt the slightest sexual excitement in their presence, never idealized them. Esthetically, he thought them far less beautiful than men. Statues and pictures of naked women had no attraction for him, while all objects of art which represented handsome males deeply stirred him.

It was in his 18th year that an event occurred which he regards as decisive in his development. He read Plato. A new world opened, and he felt that his own nature had been revealed. Next year he formed a passionate, but pure, friendship with a boy of 15. Personal contact with the boy caused erection, extreme agitation, and aching pleasure, but not ejaculation. Through four years he never saw the boy naked or touched him pruriently. Only twice he kissed him. He says that these two kisses were the most perfect joys he ever felt.

His father now became seriously anxious both about his health and his reputation. He warned him of the social and legal dangers attending his temperament. But he did not encourage him to try coitus with women. He himself thinks that his own sense of danger might have made this method successful, or that, at all events, the habit of intercourse with women might have lessened neurosis and diverted his mind to some extent from homosexual thoughts.

A period of great pain and anxiety now opened for him. But his neurasthenia increased; he suffered from insomnia, obscure cerebral discomfort, stammering, chronic conjunctivitis, inability to concentrate his attention, and dejection. Meanwhile his homosexual emotions strengthened, and assumed a more sensual character. He abstained from indulging them, as also from onanism, but he was often forced, with shame and reluctance, to frequent places—baths, urinaries, and so forth—where there were opportunities of seeing naked men.

Having no passion for women, it was easy to avoid them. Yet they inspired him with no exact horror. He used to dream of finding an exit from his painful situation by cohabitation with some coarse, boyish girl of the people; but his dread of syphilis stood in the way. He felt, however, that he must conquer himself by efforts of will, and by a persistent direction of his thoughts to heterosexual images. He sought the society of distinguished women. Once he coaxed up a romantic affection for a young girl of 15, which came to nothing, probably because the girl felt the want of absolute passion in his wooing. She excited his imagination, and he really loved her; but she did not, even in the closest contact, stimulate his sexual appetite. Once, when he kissed her just after she had risen from bed in the morning, a curious physical repugnance came over him, attended with a sad feeling of disappointment.

He was strongly advised to marry by physicians. At last he did so. He found that he was potent, and begot several children, but he also found, to his disappointment, that the tyranny of the male genital organs on his fancy increased. Owing to this cause his physical, mental, and moral discomfort became acute. His health gave way.

At about the age of 30, unable to endure his position any longer, he at last yielded to his sexual inclinations. As he began to do this, he also began to regain calm and comparative health. He formed a close

alliance with a youth of 19. This *liaison* was largely sentimental, and marked by a kind of etherealized sensuality. It involved no sexual acts beyond kissing, naked contact, and rare involuntary emissions. About the age of 36 he began freely to follow homosexual inclinations. After this he rapidly recovered his health. The neurotic disturbances subsided.

He has always loved men younger than himself. At about the age of 27 he had begun to admire young soldiers. Since he yielded freely to his inclinations the men he has sought are invariably persons of a lower social rank than his own. He carried on one *liaison* continuously for twelve years; it began without passion on the friend's side, but gradually grew to nearly equal strength on both sides. He is not attracted by uniforms, but seeks some uncontaminated child of Nature.

The methods of satisfaction have varied with the phases of his passion. At first they were romantic and Platonic, when a hand-touch, a rare kiss, or mere presence, sufficed. In the second period sleeping side by side, inspection of the naked body of the loved man, embraces, and occasional emissions after prolonged contact. In the third period the gratification became more frankly sensual. It took every shape: mutual masturbation, intercrural coitus, *fellatio*, *irrumatio*, occasionally *pedicatio*; always according to the inclination or concession of the beloved male.

He himself always plays the active, masculine part. He never yields himself to the other, and he asserts that he never has the joy of finding himself desired with ardor equal to his own. He does not shrink from passive *pedicatio*; but it is never demanded of him. Coitus with males, as above described, always seems to him healthy and natural; it leaves a deep sense of well-being, and has cemented durable friendships. He has always sought to form permanent ties with the men whom he has adored so excessively.

He is of medium height, not robust, but with great nervous energy, with strong power of will and self-control, able to resist fatigue and changes of external circumstance.

In boyhood he had no liking for female occupations, or for the society of girls, preferring study and solitude. He avoided games and the noisy occupations of boys, but was only non-masculine in his indifference to sport, was never feminine in dress or habit. He never succeeded in his attempts to whistle. He is a great smoker, and has at times drunk much. He likes riding, skating, and climbing, but is a poor horseman, and is clumsy with his hands. He has no capacity for the fine arts and music, though much interested in them, and is a prolific author.

He has suffered extremely throughout life owing to his sense of the difference between himself and normal human beings. No pleasure he has enjoyed, he declares, can equal a thousandth part of the pain caused by the internal consciousness of pariahdom. The utmost he can plead

in his own defense, he admits, is irresponsibility, for he acknowledges that his impulse may be morbid. But he feels absolutely certain that in early life his health was ruined and his moral repose destroyed owing to the perpetual conflict with his own inborn nature, and that relief and strength came with indulgence. Although he always has before him the terror of discovery, he is convinced that his sexual dealings with men have been thoroughly wholesome to himself, largely increasing his physical, moral, and intellectual energy, and not injurious to others. He has no sense whatever of moral wrong in his actions, and he regards the attitude of society toward those in his position as utterly unjust and founded on false principles.

The next case is, like the foregoing, that of a successful man of letters who also passed through a long period of mental conflict before he became reconciled to his homosexual instincts. He belongs to a family who are all healthy and have shown marked ability in different intellectual departments. He feels certain that one of his brothers is as absolute an invert as himself and that another is attracted to both sexes. I am indebted to him for the following detailed narrative, describing his emotions and experiences in childhood, which I regard as of very great interest, not only as a contribution to the psychology of inversion, but to the embryology of the sexual emotions generally. We here see described, in an unduly precocious and hyper-esthetic form, ideas and feelings which, in a slighter and more fragmentary shape, may be paralleled in the early experiences of many normal men and women. But it must be rare to find so many points in sexual psychology so definitely illustrated in a single child. It may be added that the narrative is also not without interest as a study in the evolution of a man of letters; a child whose imagination was thus early exercised and developed was predestined for a literary career.

CASE XXVI.—“Almost the earliest recollection I have is of a dream, which, from my vivid recollection of its details, must have repeated itself, I think, more than once, unless my waking thoughts unconsciously added definition. From this dream dated my consciousness of the attraction to me of my own sex, which has ever since dominated my life. The dream, suggested in part, I think, by a picture in an illustrated newspaper of a mob murdering a church dignitary, took this form:

I dreamed that I saw my own father murdered by a gang of ruffians, but I do not remember that I felt any grief, though I was actually an exceedingly affectionate child. The body was then stripped of its clothing and eviscerated. I had at the time no notion of anatomical details; but the particulars remain distinct to my mind's eye, of entrails uniformly brown, the color of dung, and there was no accompaniment of blood. When the abdomen had been emptied, the incident in which I became an active participant occurred. I was seized (and the fact that I was overpowered contributed to the agony of delight it afforded me) and was laid between the thighs of my murdered parent; and from there I had presently crawled my way into the evacuated abdomen. The act, so far as I can decide of a dream at an age when emission was out of the question, caused in me extreme organic excitement. At all events, I used afterward definitely to recur to it in the waking moments before sleep for the purpose of gaining a state of erection. The dream had no outcome: it seemed to reach its goal in the excitement it caused. I was at that time between 3 and 4 years old. (I have been told that erections occurred when I was only 2 years old. It was between 3 and 4 that I used to induce, at all events, the *sensation* of an erection. But I was nearer 5 when sitting on my bed and waiting to be dressed I got an involuntary erection and called my nurse's attention to it, asking what it meant. The *appearance* must, therefore, have been usual to me at that date, but certainly the sensation was not.)

"At that time I was totally ignorant of the conditions of puberty, which afterward, when I discovered them, so powerfully affected me. I could not even visualize the private organs of a man; I made no deductions from myself. The only naked bodies I had seen then—I judge from circumstances, not from any actual memory of the facts—were those of my own sisters. In the waking dreams which I began to construct, though I recurred often to the one already narrated, the goal of my desire was generally to nestle between the thighs or to have my face pressed against the hinder parts of the object of my worship. But for a time my first dream so engrossed me that I did not indulge in any promiscuity. Gradually, however, my horizon enlarged, and took in, besides the first-mentioned, three others: a cousin very much my elder, an uncle, and the curate of the parish.

"At this stage I began to invent circumstances for the indulgence of my passion. One of the earliest was to imagine myself in a tank with my three lovers floating in the water above me. From this position I visited their limbs in turn; the attraction rested in the thighs and buttocks only. I fancy this limitation of the charm to the lower parts only lasted until actual experience of a more complete embrace made me as much a lover of the arms and breast; indeed, later I became more emotionally enamored of these parts than of all the rest. At the be-

ginning of things I simply loved best what my mind could first get hold of.

"Quite early in my experience, when I was not more than 5, I awoke earlier than usual, and saw my nurse standing in complete nudity, commencing her toilet. She seemed to me a gross, coarse, and meaningless object; the hair under her armpits displeased me, and still more that on the lower part of her body. In the case of men, directly I came to have cognizance of the same thing on their bodies, the effect was exactly the opposite. It so happened that about this time the gardener had received some injury to his leg, and in showing the bruise to another exhibited before my eyes a skin completely shagged over with dark hair. Though the sight of the bruise repulsed me, my pleasure was intense, and the vision of the gardener's legs was in my bed every night for a week afterward. My point is that the sight of my nurse was liable to rouse interest just as much as the far more prosaic display of the gardener's wounded leg, but my nature made it impossible.

"It was about this time, if not before, that an enormous sense of shyness with regard to all my private duties began to afflict me. So great was it that I could endure from no hand except my mother's or my nurse's the necessary assistance in the buttoning and unbuttoning of my garments, always excepting those who were about my own age, toward whom I felt no privacy whatever.

"When I was a little more than 5 I formed a friendship with a young clerk, a youth of about 15, though he seemed to me a grown-up person. One day, as he sat at his desk writing, I sat down and began playing with his feet, investigating the height to which his socks went under his trousers; in this way I obtained six inches of bare leg. Conscious of my courage I fell to kissing it. My friend laughed, but left me to my devotions in peace. This was the first time in which a feeling of romance mixed itself in my dreams; the physical excitement was less, but the pleasure was greater. I cannot understand why I never repeated the experience. He remained to me an object of very special and tender consideration.

"In the next episode I have to relate the ideal was totally absent, and the part I played was passive rather than active. I was put to sleep with a boy considerably my senior. His initiation led to a physical familiarity between us which was not warm or kind, and I was allowed no scope for my own instinctive desires for a warmer kind of contact; if I sought it under cover of my companion's slumbers I found myself kicked away. Only on one occasion did I find a few moments of supreme charm, while his sleep remained sound, by discovering in the recesses of the sheet an exposed surface of flesh against which I pressed my face in an abandonment of joy. For the rest I was a passive participant, his pleasure seeming to end in the mere handling of the fleshy

portions of my body. For this purpose I usually lay face downward across his knees. So far as I can remember, this intimacy led to a decrease in my pursuit of imaginative pleasures; for about a year no further development took place.

"At about this date I was circumcised on account of the prepuce being too long.

"Between the 6th and 7th years a change of environment brought me into contact with a new set of faces. I had then a bed to myself, and once more my imagination awoke to life. It was at this time that I found myself constructing from men's faces suppositions as to the rest of their bodies: a brown face led me to suppose a uniformly brown body, a pale face a pale body. This idea of variety began to charm me. I now made definite choice in my reveries whether I would go to sleep between white thighs, or red thighs, or brown thighs. Going to sleep definitely describes the goal of the method to which I had addicted myself. As soon as I entered my bed I abandoned myself to the construction of an amour and retained it as long as I had consciousness. I may say that I was not conscious of any emissions under these circumstances (until some years later, when I brought it about by my own act), but the pleasure was fairly acute.

"All this time there were secret meetings with my bedfellow of the year before. But they now took place by day, in various hiding-places, with little unclothing or exposure, and my companion was cold and fastidious and repelled any warmth on my part; it became to me a dry sort of ritual. I had an idea at that time that the whole thing was so much an original invention of his and mine that there was no likelihood of its being practiced by anyone else in the world. But this consideration did not restrain me in constructing love-scenes with all those whose appearance attracted me. At this period nearly every man with whom I came in contact won at least my transient desire; only the quite old and the deformed lay outside the scope of my wishes. Many of my amours developed in church; the men who sat near me were the objects of my attention, and the clergyman, whose sermon I did not listen to, supplied me with an occasion for reverie on the charms his person would have for me under other circumstances. It must have been at this time that I began to elaborate ideas of a serried rank of congregated thighs across which I lay and was dragged. I would arrange them in definite order and then imagine myself drawn across from one to the other somewhat forcibly. Admiration of strength was beginning at this time to have a definite part in my conceptions, but anything of the nature of cruelty had not then appealed to me. (I except the original dream of my childhood, which seems to me still to stand fantastically apart.) In the inventions to which I now gave myself the sense of being passed across limbs of different texture and color was subtle and

pleasurable. I think the note of constructive cruelty which now followed arose from an imagined rivalry among my lovers for possession of me; the idea that I was desired made me soon take a delight in imagining myself torn and snatched about by the contending parties. Presently out of this I began constructing definite scenes of violence. I was able in imagination to lie in the thick and stress of conglomerated deliciousness of thighs struggling to hold me; I was able to imagine at least six bodies encircling me with passionate contact. At the same time I had an ingrained feeling of my own physical smallness in relation to the limbs whose contact threw me into such paroxysms of delight. A new and sufficiently ludicrous invention took possession of me: I imagined myself strapped to the thigh (always, I think, the right one) of the man on whom I chose, for the time, to concentrate my desires, and so to be worn by him during his day's work, hidden beneath his garments. I was not conscious of any difficulty due to my size. The charm of bondage and compulsion was here, again, in the ascendant. I fancy that it was in this connection that I first anticipated whipping as the delightful climax to my emotions, administered when my possessor, at the end of his day's work, unclothed himself for rest.

"Up to this stage my attraction to the male organ of generation had been slight and vague. Two things now contributed to bring thought of it into prominence. On two or three occasions when I accompanied farm-laborers to their occupations I saw them pause by the way to relieve nature. My extreme shyness as regards such matters in my own person made this performance in my presence like an outrage on my modesty; it had about it the suggestion of an indecent solicitation to one whose inclination was to headlong and delirious surrender. I stood rooted and flushing with downcast eyes till the act was over and was conscious for a considerable time of stammering speech and bewildered faculties. When I afterward reviewed the circumstances they had the same attraction for me that amorous cruelty was just then beginning to exercise on my imagination. My mind secretly embraced the fearful sweetness of the newly discovered sensation, surrounding the performance of the function with all sorts of atrocious and bizarre inventions. For a time my intellect hung back from accepting this as the central and most fiery secret of the male attraction; but shortly afterward, when out walking with my father, I saw him perform the same act; I was overwhelmed with emotion and could barely drag my feet from the spot or my eyes from the damp herbage where he had deposited the waters of secrecy. Even to-day, when my mind has been long accustomed to the knowledge of generative facts, I cannot dissociate myself from the shuddering charm that moment had for me. The attraction my father's person had always had for me was now increased tenfold by the performance I had witnessed (though I had not seen the penis in any of these cases).

"For a considerable time only those lovers were dominant in my imagination whom I had witnessed in the act that had so poignantly affected me. My delight now took the form of imagining myself strapped to the thighs of the person while this function was in progress.

"By this time I must have been 8 years old. The cold and secret relationship of which I have given an account had continued without instructing me in any of the ardent possibilities it might have suggested; no force or cruelty was used upon me, no warmth was lavished. It made little difference that my companion had now discovered the act of masturbation; it had no meaning to me since it led to no warmth of embrace. His method was to avert himself from me; I had to fawn upon him from the rear and also to invent indecent stories to stimulate his imagination. I felt myself a despised instrument, the mere spectator of an act which, if directed toward me with any warmth, would have aroused the liveliest appetite. At this time, as I have since seen, my companion was gaining knowledge from the ancient classics. For a time some charm was imparted by his instructing me to adopt a superincumbent face-to-face embrace. The beginning of his puberty was enormously attractive to me; had he been less cold-blooded I could have responded passionately to his endearments; but he always insisted on rigorous passivity on my part, and he explained nothing. One day, by a small gratuity, he induced me to offer him my mouth, though I still had no comprehension of the result I was helping to attain. Once the orgasm occurred, and the effect was extremely nauseous; after that he was more careful. My companion was approaching manhood, and his demands became more frequent, his exactions more humiliating.

"At the same time my passion for male love was growing stronger. I was able to construct from the unsatisfactory bondage in which I was held images of bodily embrace which I had not before had sufficient sense of human contact to form, though I seldom imagined any of the acts that in actual experience repulsed me. One day, however, I shirked a particularly repulsive humiliation which my companion had forced upon me. He discovered the deception, rose from the prone position in which he lay, and throwing me across his knees thrashed me violently. I submitted without a struggle, experiencing a curious sensation of pleasure in the midst of my pain. When he repeated his order I found its accomplishment no longer repulsive. One of the few pleasurable memories this intimacy, extending over years, has left for me is that moment of abject abasement to one who, with no warmth of feeling, had yet once had sufficient energy to be brutal to me.

"It must have been from this incident that the calculated effect of flagellation began to have weight with me when I indulged my imagination. A wish to be repulsed, trampled, violated by the object of my passion took hold of my instincts. Even then—and, indeed, up to my

13th year—I had no idea of normal sexual connection. I knew vaguely that children were born from women's bodies; I did not know—and when told I did not believe—the true facts of the marital relationship. All that I had experienced—both in fact and imagination—was to me so highly individual that I had no notion anything kindred to it could exist outside my own experience. I had no notion of sex as the basis of life. Even when I came gradually to realize that men and women were formed in a way that argued connection with each other I still believed it to be a dissolute sort of conduct, not to be indulged in by those who had claims to respectability.

"I had, however, by this time arrived at a strong attraction toward the organs of generation and all aspects of puberty, and my imagination spent itself in a fantastic worship of every sign of masculinity. My enjoyment now was to imagine myself forced to undergo physical humiliation and submission to the caprice of my male captors, and the central fact became the discharge of urine from my lover over my body and limbs, or, if I were very fond of him, I let it be in my face. This was followed usually by a half-caressing castigation, in which the hand only was instrumental.

"The period of which I am now writing was that of my entry into school-life. My imaginary lovers immediately became numerous; all the masters and all the boys above a certain age attracted me; for two I had in addition a feeling of romantic as well as physical attachment. Indeed, from this time onward I was never without some heroes toward whom I indulged a perfectly separate and tenderly ideal passion. The announcement that one was about to leave surprised me into a passionate fit of weeping; yet my reserve was so great and my sense of isolation so crushing that I made no effort at intimacy, and to one for whom I felt inexhaustible devotion I barely spoke for the first three years, though meeting him daily. At this time the subjects of my contemplation had distinctly individualized methods of approach. Thus in one case I imagined we stood face to face in our night-gear; suddenly mine was stripped from me; I was seized and forcibly thrust under his and made to hang with my feet off the ground by my full weight on the erect organ which inserted itself between my thighs; so suspended—my body enveloped in the folds of his linen and my face pressed upon his heart—I underwent a castigation which continued till I was thrown down to receive a discharge of urine over my prostrate body. Such images seemed to come independently of my will.

"It was at this time that I found a large pleasure in imagining contact with people whom I disliked; the prevailing note of these intimacies was always cruelty, to which I submitted with acute relish. I discovered, however, from the ordinary school-experiences of corporal punishment, that it had no charm to me when administered for school-

offenses, even from the hands under which at other times I imagined myself as delighting to receive pain. The necessary link was lacking; had I perceived on the part of my judge any liking for the operation, there would probably have been a response on my side. On one occasion I was flogged unjustly; conscious as I was of its cruel instead of judiciary character, this was the only castigation I received which had in it an element of gratification for my instincts. At the same time I never forgave the hand that administered it; it is the only instance I remember in myself of a grudge nourished for years.

"Meanwhile amid this chaos of confused love and hatred, of relish for cruelty and loathing for injustice, my first thoroughly romantic and ideal attachment was developing itself. I may say, of those to whom romance as well as physical attachment bound me, that they have remained unchangeable parts of my nature. To-day, as it was twenty years ago, when I think of them the blood gushes to my brain, my hands tingle and moisten with an emotion I cannot subdue: I am at their feet worshipping them. Of them my dreams were entirely tender; the idea of cruelty never touched the conception I had of them. But I return to that one who was the chief influence of my youth: older than myself by only three years, he was of fine build and athletic, with adolescence showing in his face; my tremulous beginnings of worship were confirmed by a word of encouragement thrown to me one day as I went to receive my first flogging; no doubt my small scared face excited his kind pity. I made it my concern afterward to let him know that I had not cried under the ordeal, and I believe he passed the word round that I had taken my punishment pluckily. So little contact had I with him that beyond constant worship on my part I remember nothing till, about three years later, I received from him a kind, half-joking solicitation, spoken in clean and simple language. So terrific was my shyness and secrecy that I had even then no idea that familiarity of the sort was common enough in schools. I was absolutely unable to connect my own sensations with those of the world at large or to believe that others felt as I did. On this occasion I simply felt that some shrewd thrust had been made at me for the detection of my secret. He had drawn me upon his knee; I sat there silent, flushing, and dumbfounded. He made no attempt to press me; he had, as he thought, said enough if I chose to be reciprocal; beyond that he would not tempt me. A few years ago I heard of him married and prosperous.

"In following up my emotions in this direction I have far outstripped the period up to which I have given a complete exposition of my development. I must have been more than twelve years old before school-life persuaded me to face (as taught by sniggering novices) the actual facts of sexual intercourse. At the same time I learned that I had means of extracting enjoyment from my own body in a definite

direction which I had not till then suspected. A growing resistance on my part to his cold desires had led to a break with my former intimate; to the last he had taught me nothing, except distaste for himself. I now found ready teachers right and left of me. One of my schoolfellows invited me to watch him in the process of masturbation; the spectacle left me quite unmoved; the result appeared to me far less exciting than the discharge of urine which, until then, I had associated with male virility. I was so accustomed to my own lone amorous broodings that the effort and action required for this process, when I attempted to imitate it, disconcerted my thoughts and interfered with concentration on my own inventions. I had never experienced the pleasure accompanying the spasm of emission, and there seemed to be nothing worth trying for along that road. I desisted and returned to my reveries. I was now in a perfect maze of promiscuity; there must have been at least fifty people who attracted me at that time. I developed a liking for imagining myself between two lovers, generally men who were physical contrasts. It was my habit to analyze as minutely as possible those who attracted me. To gain intimacy with what was below the surface I studied with attention their hands, the wrists where they disappeared (showing the hair of the forearm), and the neck; I estimated the comparative size of the generative organs, the formation of the thighs and buttocks, and thus constructed a presentiment of the whole man. The more vividly I could do this, the keener was the pleasure I was able to obtain from their contemplated embraces.

"Till now I had been absolutely untouched by any moral scruples. I had the usual acquiescence in the religious beliefs in which I had been trained; it did not enter my head that there was any divine law, one way or the other, concerning the allurements of the imagination. From my thirteenth year slight hints of uneasiness began to creep into my conscience. I began perhaps to understand that the formulas of religion, to which I had listened all my life with as little attention as possible, had some meaning which now and then touched the circumstances of my own life. I had not yet realized that my past foretold my future, and that women would be to me a repulsion instead of an attraction where things sexual were concerned. I had the full conviction that one day I should be married; I had also some fear that as I grew to manhood I might succumb to the temptations of loose women. I had an incipient revulsion from such a fate, and this seemed to me to indicate that moral stirrings were at work within me. One night I was amorously attacked in my bedroom by two of the domestics. I experienced an acute horror which I hid under laughter; my resistance was so desperate that I escaped with a tickling. I had been accustomed to sit on the servants' knees, a habit I had innocently retained from childhood; I can now

recall in detail the approaches these women had been used to make me. At the time I was utterly oblivious that anything was intended.

"I was equally oblivious to things that had a nearer relation to my own feelings. In passing along a side-street one night I was overtaken by a man who began conversation on the weather. He asked me if I were not cold, began passing his hand up and down my back; then came a question about caning at school, whether certain parts of me were not sore, leading to an investigating touch. I put his hand aside shyly, but did not resent the action. Presently he was for exploring my trousers pockets and I began to think him a pickpocket; repulsed in that direction, he returned to rubbing my back. The sensation was pleasant. I now took him for a pimp who wished to take me to a prostitute, and as at that time I had begun to realize that such pleasures were not to my taste I was glad to find myself at my destination, and said good-bye sharply, leaving him standing full of astonishment at his failure with one who had taken his advances so pleasantly. I could not bring myself to believe that others had the same feelings as myself. Later I realized my escape, not without a certain amount of regret, and constructed for my own pleasure a different termination to the incident.

"I was now so possessed by masculine attraction that I became a lover of all the heroes I read of in books. Some became as vivid to me as those with whom I was living in daily contact. For a time I became an ardent lover of Napoleon (the incident of his anticipation of the nuptials with his second wife attracting me by its impetuous brutality), of Edward I, and of Julius Cæsar. Charles II I remember by a caressing cruelty with which my imagination gifted him. Jugurtha was a great acquisition. Bothwell, Judge Jefferies, and many villains of history and fiction appealed to me by their cruelty.

"I had become an adept in the mental construction necessary for the satisfaction of my desires. And yet up to that date I had never seen the nude body of a full-grown adult. I had no knowledge of the extent to which hair in certain instances develops on the torso; indeed, my efforts at characterization centered, for the most part, around the thighs and generative organs. At this time one of my schoolfellows saw a common workman, known to me by name, bathing in a stream with some companions; all his body was, my informant told me, covered with hair from throat to belly. In face the man was coarse and repulsive, but I now began to regard him as a lovely monstrosity, and for many nights embraced the vision of him passionately, with face buried in the jungle growth of hair that covered his chest. I was, for the first time, conscious of deliberately (and successfully) willing not to see his face, which was distasteful to me. At the same time another schoolfellow told me, concerning a master who bathed with the boys, that hair showed above his bathing-drawers as high as the navel. I now began definitely

to construct bodies in detail; the suggestion of extensive hairiness maddened me with delight, but remained in my mind strongly associated with cruelty; my hairy lovers never behaved to me with tenderness; everything at this period, I think, tended to draw me toward force and violence as an expression of amateness. A schoolfellow, a few years my senior, of a cruel, bullying disposition, took a particular delight in inflicting pain on me: he had particularly pointed shoes, and it was his custom to make me stand with my back to him while he addressed me in petting and caressing tones; just when his words were at their kindest he would inflict a sharp stroke with the toe of his boot so as to reach the most tender part of my fundament; the pain was exquisite; I was conscious that he experienced sexual pleasure (I had seen definite signs of it beneath his clothing), and, though loathing him, I would, after I had suffered from his kicks, throw myself into his imaginary embraces and indulge in a perfect rage of abject submission. Yet all the time I would gladly have killed him.

"At the age of 14 I went, for a time, to a farm-house, where I was allowed to mingle familiarly with the farm-laborers, a fine set of muscular young men. I became a great favorite, and, having childish caressing manners a good deal behind my real age, I was allowed to take many liberties with them. They all lived under the farmer's roof in the old-fashioned way, and in the evening I used to sit on their knees and caress and hug them to my heart's content. They took it phlegmatically; it apparently gave them no surprise. One of the men used to return my squeezes and caresses and once allowed me to put my hand under his shirt, but there were no further liberties.

"It was not until I was nearly 15 that the event happened which made me, for the first time, restless in my enforced solitude. I was verging on puberty, and perhaps in the hope that I should find my own development met by a corresponding warmth I again came into intimate relations with the companion whose frigid performances had caused me weariness and disgust. He was now a man, having reached majority. He put me into his bed while he undressed himself and came toward me in perfect nudity. In a moment we were in each other's arms and the deliciousness of that moment intoxicated me. Suddenly, lying on the bed, I felt attacked, as I thought, by an imperative need to make water. I leaped up with a hurried excuse, but already the paroxysm had subsided. No discharge came to my relief, yet the need seemed to have passed. I returned to my companion, but the glamour of the meeting was already over. My companion evidently found more pleasure in my person than when I was a mere child; I felt moved and flattered by the pleasure he took in pressing his face against certain parts of my body. On a second occasion, one day, I seemed involuntarily about to transgress decency, but again, as before, separated myself, and remained ignorant of

what it was on which I had verged in my excitement. At another meeting, however, I had been allowed to prolong my embrace and to act, indeed, upon my full instincts. Once more I felt suddenly the coming of something acutely impending; I took my courage in my hands and went boldly forward. In another moment I had hold of the mysterious secret of masculine energy, to which all my years of delirious imaginings had been but as a waiting of the threshold, the knocking on a closed door.

"It was inevitable that from that day our intimacy should dwindle into dissolution (though other causes anticipated this natural decay), but I no longer found masturbation a dry and wearisome formula. In my novitiate I was disheartened to find how long it took me to dissociate myself from the contemplative and attach myself to the active form of self-gratification. But I presently found myself committed to the repetition of the act three times a day. On almost the last occasion I met my intimate he showed an exceptional ardor. At that meeting he proposed to attempt an act I had not previously considered possible, far less had I heard that it was considered the worst criminal connection that could take place. I had a slight fear of pain, but was willing to gratify him, and for the first time found in my submission a union of the two amative instincts which had before disputed sway in me: the instinct for tenderness and the instinct for cruelty. *Pædicatio* failed to take place, but I received an embrace which for the first time gave me full satisfaction. My delight was enormous; I was filled with emotions. I have no words to describe the extraordinary charm of the warm, smooth flesh upon mine, and the rougher contact of the hairy parts. Yet I was conscious, even at the time, that this was but the physical side of pleasure, and that he was not and never could be one whom I might truly be said to love.

"I was now in my sixteenth year, and under the influence of these and many other emotions then, for the first time, beginning to seize me, a sense of literary power and a desire to express myself through imaginative channels began to take hold of me. I feared that my indulgence was having an enfeebling power on my faculties (I had begun to experience physical languor and depression), and certain religious scruples, the result of my early training, took hold of me. For the first time I became conscious that the ardors I felt toward my own sex were a diversion of the sex-instinct itself, and to my astonishment and consternation I found by chance the practices I had already indulged in definitely denounced in the Bible as an abomination. From that moment began a struggle which lasted for years. I made a final breach with my former intimate, and thereupon a long dispute took place between the conflicting influences that strove for possession of my body. For a time I broke off the habit of masturbation, but I could not so easily rid myself of the mental indulgence, which was now almost an essential

sedative for inducing sleep. At this time a visit to the sea-side, where, for the first time, I was able to see men bathing in complete nudity, frankly, in the full light of day, plunged me again for a time head-foremost into imaginative amours, and my scruples and resolutions were flung to the winds. But, on the whole, I had now entered a stage which, for want of a better term, I must describe as the emotionally moral. To whatever depth of indulgence I descended I carried a sense of obliquity with me; I believed that I was a rebel from a law, natural and divine, of which yet no instinct had been implanted in me. I still held unquestioned the truth of the religion I had been brought up in, and my whole life, every thought of my brain, every impulse of my body, were in direct antagonism to the will of God. At times physical desire broke down these barriers, but I practiced considerable restraint physically, though not mentally, and made great efforts to conquer my aversion from women and extreme devotion for men, without the slightest success. I was 30, however, before I found a companion to love me in the way my nature required. I am quite a healthy person, and capable of working at very high pressure. Under sexual freedom I have become stronger."

Although in the foregoing case we see that in early life there was a well-marked tendency to feminine feeling associated also with an imaginative attraction to the idea of suffering, yet on the whole the preceding cases exhibit, in a more or less marked degree, what may be called the masculine diathesis: their affections are directed toward men, but they themselves feel as men, not as women, toward the objects of their affections, or else the feeling fluctuates between the two attitudes. This usually finds expression in their choice of the active rôle in sexual relations. Such persons constitute an important group, a group which has sometimes been ignored by those who have insisted on the feminine characteristics of invert generally. At the same time it must be added that even the members of this group show, for the most part, some slight trace of what might fairly be called feminine characteristics, and there is no clear line of demarcation between active and passive invert. In the following two cases the subjects distinctly prefer the passive rôle; one of them is of somewhat feminine nature generally, the other remains masculine in his non-sexual habits.

CASE XXVII.—Englishman, aged 70, of German descent on father's side. Was first child of his mother, who was 36 at his birth; a younger brother normal; has no other relatives.

He was brought up in England, and went to school at the age of 13. At a very early age, between 6 and 8, was deeply impressed by the handsome face of a young man, a royal trumpeter on horseback, seen in a procession. This, and the sight of the naked body of young men in a rowing-match on the river, caused great commotion, but not of a definitely sexual character. This was increased by the sight of a beautiful male model of a young Turk smoking, with his dress open in front, showing much of the breast and below the waist. He became familiar with pictures, admired the male figures of Italian martyrs, and the full, rich forms of the Antinous, and he read with avidity the *Arabian Nights*, and other Oriental tales, translations from the classics, Suetonius, Petronius, etc. He drew naked models in life schools, and delighted in male ballet-dancers. As a child, he used to perform in private theatricals; he excelled in female parts, and sang the songs of Madame Vestris, encouraged in this by his father.

The sexual organs have never been fully developed, and the testicles, though large, are of flabby consistence. He cannot whistle. He thinks he ought to have been a woman.

At school he was shy and reserved, and had no particular intimacy with anyone, although he once desired it. He learned self-abuse from his younger brother, who had learned it from an older boy. He has never had erotic dreams. He never touched anyone but his brother until later when traveling in Italy, and then only his fellow-traveler. When traveling in Asia Minor he had many opportunities, but always put them aside from fear, afterward regretting his fearfulness. He yearned for intimacy with particular friends, but never dared to express it. He went much to theaters, and what he saw there incited him to masturbation. When he was about 30 years of age his reserve, and his fear of treachery and extortion, were at last overcome by an incident which occurred late at night at the Royal Exchange, and again in a dark recess in the gallery of the Olympic Theater when Gustavus Brooke was performing. From that time the Adelphi Theater, the Italian Opera, and the open parks at night became his fields of adventure. He remarks that among people crowding to witness a fire he found many opportunities. His especial intimates were a railway-clerk and an Italian model. In more recent years he has chiefly found gratification among footmen and policemen.

He is exclusively passive; also likes mutual *fellatio*. He used greatly to admire finely developed forms (conscious of his own shortcomings), shapely limbs, and delicate brown hair, and always admired strength and manly vigor. He never took any interest in boys, and has always been indifferent to women.

CASE XXVIII.—A medical man, English, aged 30. He believes that his father, who was a magistrate, was very sympathetic toward men; on several occasions he has sat with him on the bench when cases of indecent assault were brought up; he discharged three cases, although there could be little doubt as to their guilt, and was very lenient to the others.

From the age of 9 he loved sleeping with his brother, ten years older, who was in the navy; they slept in different beds, and the child went to bed early, but he always kept awake to see his brother undress, as he adored his naked body; and would then get into his bed. He learned the habit of masturbation from his brother at the age of 9; at that time there was no sexual orgasm, but watching it in his brother was a perpetual source of wonder and pleasure. During his brother's absence at sea the boy longed for his return and would practice self-abuse with the thought of his brother's naked body before him. This brother's death was a source of great grief. At the age of 12 he went to boarding-school, and was constantly falling in love with good-looking boys. He was always taken into one of the bigger boys' bed. At this age he was thoroughly able to enjoy the sexual orgasm with boys. His erotic dreams have always been of men and especially of boys; he has never dreamed sexually of women. From the age of 9 to the age of 21, when he left school, he never gave women a thought sexually, though he always liked their society. For two years after leaving school he had connection with women, not because he thought there was sin in loving his own sex, but because he regarded it as a thing that no one did after leaving school. During these two years he still really preferred men and used to admire the figures of soldiers and sailors. He then paid a visit to London, which may be described in his own words: "I went to see an old schoolfellow who was living there. In his room was a young fellow, fair, extremely good looking, with a good figure and charming manners. From that moment all my past recollections came back: I could not get him out of my mind; in fact, I was in love with him. I pictured him naked before me as a lovely statue; my dreams were frequent at night, always of him. For a fortnight afterward I practiced masturbation with the picture of his lovely face and form always before me. We became fast friends, and from that day women have never entered my thoughts."

Although up to the present he has no wish or intention to marry, he believes that he will eventually do so, because it is thought desirable in his profession; but he is quite sure that his love and affection for men and boys will never lessen.

In earlier life he preferred men from 20 to 35; now he likes boys from 16 upward; grooms, for instance, who must be good looking, well developed, cleanly, and of a lovable, unchanging nature; but he would

prefer gentlemen. He does not care for mere mutual embracing and reciprocal masturbation; when he really loves a man he desires *pædicatio* in which he is himself the passive subject.

He has curly hair and moustache, and well-developed sexual organs. His habits are masculine, he has always enjoyed field sports, and can swim, ride, drive, and skate. At the same time, he is devoted to music, can draw and paint, and is an ardent admirer of male statuary. While fond of practical occupations of every sort, he dislikes anything that is theoretical.

He has thus described his attitude toward the moral questions involved: "As a medical man, I fail to see morally any unhealthiness, or anything that nature should be ashamed of, in connection with, and sympathy for, men. My own inclinations lead in that way, and, physically, I find it more beneficial, and without the dangers attached to copulation with women. If not carried to excess, it is a far more healthy practice than self-abuse, which is so much done. And I trust that some day it may be taken up and discussed as a medical question in connection with its benefit to health, both physically and morally, and become a recognized thing."

The next case that I have to present, while belonging to the same group, presents the additional feature that the inversion is complicated with a perversion which, in a slighter degree, we have met with in two previous cases. The individual in question confesses to a desire to experience physical pain and rough treatment at the sexual climax; this perversion has been called Masochism (after the Austrian novelist, Sacher-Masoch, who has often described this state of feeling) by Krafft-Ebing. Such a state of feeling is by some regarded as almost normal in women, and this subject is feminine by nature and habits.

CASE XXIX.—An Englishman, aged 34, of no profession. The family history shows nothing abnormal. The family is of German and Italian origin, but settled in England for over a century and marrying English women. He himself has the appearance of an Italian.

His father's proclivities were very strongly toward men, to such an extent, indeed, that he became separated from his wife. His sister avoids the society of men, and has warm attachments with other women; and he is nearly sure that a cousin is attracted to his own sex.

When only about 8 or 9 years of age he became extremely attached to a groom, and even consulted with his sister as to inducing him to go into a shrubbery in order to play with his person. "I fancy," he remarks,

"that there was more than mere curiosity in this, as my attachment was rather romantic, and I take it that this was a foreshadowing of what the sexual proclivities were to be later on in life. Certainly, at 14 years of age the sexual love of males began, and I then readily consented to the desire of others, and sought men on my own account. Long before the age of puberty I used to sleep with a pillow on the top of me, and found pleasure and source of excitement in imagining it was a man. The pillow episode having happened before any self-abuse had taken place, and at a time when I did not believe that such a thing as emission of semen could take place manually (for I hardly believed what my school-fellows told me) leads me to conclude that in me this habit had nothing to do with self-abuse. I think it was always my natural proclivity."

He has seldom had erotic dreams,—“have not given myself the chance of having many,”—but when he had such dreams they have been about equally divided between the sexes. But, while he enjoys the dreams in which males are the subjects, he dislikes those in which females figure. He has had intercourse with three women in the course of his life, but simply as a matter of duty in order to see if he could be like other men. He did not like it, and it did not seem natural to him. He likes women as friends, and has a very high opinion of their usefulness and goodness, but he never feels inclined to kiss, and still less to take any liberties, with them. It is scarcely necessary to add that he is unmarried.

He prefers the educated to the uneducated, as the limited range of the interests that appeal to the latter make association difficult. The age preferred is from 18 to 45, or even up to 60. He likes *padicatio* to be practiced on him, but he does not himself care to practice it; *fellatio*, however, he likes either actively or passively, and is also able to satisfy himself by intercrural connection.

While preferring the educated, he makes the following interesting remarks concerning his instinctive impulses: “I like soldiers and policemen for the actual sensuality of the moment, but they have so little to talk about that it makes the performance unsatisfactory. I like tall, handsome men (the larger they are in stature, the better), very strong, and as sensual as I can get them to be, and I like them to practice *padicatio* on me, and I prefer it done roughly, and I rather prefer men who are carried away by their lust and bite my flesh at the supreme moment, and I rather like the pain inflicted by their teeth, or elsewhere.”

He is of medium height, slight, dark, and delicate. Quick in movement and in temper. His tastes are artistic and musical; he is a pianist. His habits are sedentary, and he does not care for athletic amusements. He possesses, he declares, great power of devotion and fidelity to one man, with whom he can be very loving, extremely sensual, and correspondingly jealous.

With regard to the moral aspect of the matter, he writes: “I cannot

see anything wrong in practicing this habit, as long as it is with entire mutual consent. It is certainly less wrong than seducing and ruining women. I dare say, morally and religiously, it would be better to do *nothing at all*; but I take it that that is quite impossible for anyone of my temperament. I always try to make my proclivity bring about good to others, and trust that any help that I can afford them, or any kindness that I can show them, may to some extent mitigate my offense, if there is any offense in it."

The next case, with which I conclude this first and main group, belongs to a totally-different class from all the preceding cases. These—all British or American—were obtained privately; they are not the inmates of prisons or of asylums, and in most cases they have never consulted a physician concerning their abnormal instincts. They pass through life as ordinary, sometimes as honored, members of society. The following case, which happens to be that of an American, is acquainted with both the prison and the lunatic asylum. There are several points of interest in his history, and he illustrates the way in which sexual inversion can become a matter of medico-legal importance. I think, however, that I am justified in believing that the proportion of sexually-inverted persons who reach the police-court or the lunatic asylum is not much larger in proportion to the number of sexually-inverted persons among us than it is among my cases. For the documents on which I have founded the history of Guy Olmstead I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Talbot, of Chicago, well known from his studies of abnormalities of the jaws and face, so often associated with nervous and mental abnormality. He knew the man who addressed to him the letters from which I here quote:—

CASE XXX.—On the 28th of March, 1894, at noon, in the open street in Chicago, Guy T. Olmstead fired a revolver at a letter-carrier named William L. Clifford. He came up from behind, and deliberately fired four shots, the first entering Clifford's loins, the other three penetrating the back of his head, so that the man fell and was supposed to be fatally wounded. Olmstead made little attempt to escape, as a crowd rushed up with the usual cry of "Lynch him!" but waved his revolver, exclaiming: "I'll never be taken alive!" and when a police-officer disarmed him: "Don't take my gun; let me finish what I have to do." This was evidently an allusion, as will be seen later on, to an intention to destroy

himself. He eagerly entered the prison-van, however, to escape the threatening mob.

Olmstead, who was 30 years of age, was born near Danville, Ill., in which city he lived for many years. Both parents were born in Illinois. His father, some twenty years ago, shot and nearly killed a wealthy coal operator, induced to commit the crime, it is said, by a secret organization of a hundred prominent citizens to whom the victim had made himself obnoxious by bringing suits against them for trivial causes. The victim became insane, but the criminal was never punished, and died a few years later (1878) at the age of 44. This man had another son who was considered peculiar. The mother is still living.

Guy Olmstead began to show signs of sexual perversity at the age of 12. He was seduced (we are led to believe) by a man who occupied the same bedroom. Olmstead's early history is not clear from the data to hand. It appears that he began his career as a school-teacher in Connecticut, and that he there married the daughter of a prosperous farmer; but shortly after he "fell in love" with her male cousin, whom he describes as a very handsome young man. This led to a separation from his wife, and he went West.

He was never considered perfectly sane, and in October, 1886, we find him in the Kankakee Insane Asylum. A report of his history here has been kindly supplied by the superintendent, Dr. Richard Dewey. His illness was reported as of three years' duration, and caused by general ill health; heredity doubtful, habits good, occupation that of a school-teacher. His condition was diagnosed as paranoia. On admission he was irritable, alternately excited and depressed.

October 26.—Fears John Faulds, the man whom his father shot.

November 30.—Seriously disturbed at night; threw things out of his window. Calls himself Wagner.

Shortly afterward had delusions that he was in Paris and was Napoleon.

March, 1887.—Is abusive at times, but does not long retain his spite.

June, 1887.—Sent to open ward, but not trusted there, and returned to main building.

September.—Gloomy and morose.

October.—Typhoid fever.

January, 1888.—Quiet and industrious.

March.—Excitable and irritable.

April 22.—Recovered.

August.—No delusions, but acts queerly.

December.—Quiet and industrious.

January, 1889.—Sent to open ward.

March.—Employed, and in good condition.

May 16.—Went home.

At this period, and again when examined more recently, Olmstead's physical condition is described as, on the whole, normal and fairly good. Height, 5 feet 8 inches; weight, 159 pounds. Special senses normal; genitals abnormally small, with rudimentary penis. His head is asymmetrical, and is full at the occiput, slightly sunken at the bregma, and the forehead is low. His cephalic index is 78—a normal index. The hair is sandy, and normal in amount over head, face, and body. His eyes are gray, small, and deeply set; the zygomæ are normal. The nose is large and very thin. There is arrested development of upper jaw. The ears are excessively developed and malformed. The face is very much lined, the naso-labial fissure is deeply cut, and there are well-marked horizontal wrinkles on the forehead, so that he looks at least ten years older than his actual age. The upper jaw is of partial V-shape, the lower well developed. The teeth and their tubercles and the alveolar process are normal. The breasts are full. The body is generally well developed; the hands and feet are large.

Olmstead's history is defective for some years after he left Kan-
kakee. In October, 1892, we hear of him as a letter-carrier in Chicago. During the following summer he developed a passion for William Clifford, a fellow letter-carrier about his own age, also previously a school-teacher, and regarded as one of the most reliable and efficient men in the service. For a time Clifford seems to have shared this passion, or to have submitted to it, but he quickly ended the relationship and urged his friend to undergo medical treatment, offering to pay the expenses himself. Olmstead continued to write letters of the most passionate description to Clifford, and followed him about constantly until the latter's life was made miserable. In December, 1893, Clifford placed the letters in the postmaster's hands, and Olmstead was requested to resign at once. Olmstead complained to the Civil Service Commission at Washington that he had been dismissed without cause, and also applied for reinstatement, but without success.

In the meanwhile, apparently on the advice of friends, he went into hospital, and in the middle of February, 1894, his testicles were removed. No report from the hospital is to hand. The effect of removing the testicles was far from beneficial, and he began to suffer from hysterical melancholia. A little later he went into hospital again. On March 19th he wrote to Dr. Talbot from the Mercy Hospital, Chicago: "I returned to Chicago last Wednesday night, but felt so miserable I concluded to enter a hospital again, and so came to Mercy, which is very good as hospitals go. But I might as well go to Hades as far as any hope of my getting well is concerned. I am utterly incorrigible, utterly incurable, and utterly impossible. At home I thought for a time that I was cured, but I was mistaken, and after seeing Clifford last Thursday I have grown worse than ever so far as my passion for him is concerned.

Heaven only knows how hard I have tried to make a decent creature out of myself, but my vileness is uncontrollable, and I might as well give up and die. I wonder if the doctors knew that after emasculation it was possible for a man to have erections, commit masturbation, and have the same passion as before. I am ashamed of myself; I hate myself; but I can't help it. I am without medicine, a big, fat, stupid creature, without health or strength, and I am disgusted with myself. I have no right to live, and I guess people have done right in abusing and condemning me. I know now that this disease was born in me, and will leave me only when my breath leaves me. And this is all the harder to bear when I think I might have been a gentleman but for this horror, which has made me attempt suicide, caused me to be incarcerated in an insane asylum three years, and resulted in my being locked up in a cell in an almshouse in Connecticut for three weeks. I have friends among nice people, play the piano, love music, books, and everything that is beautiful and elevating; yet they can't elevate me, because this load of inborn vileness drags me down and prevents my perfect enjoyment of anything. Doctors are the only ones who understand and know my helplessness before this monster. I think and worry till my brain whirls, and I can scarce refrain from crying out my troubles." This letter was written a few days before the crime was committed.

When conveyed to the police-station Olmstead completely broke down and wept bitterly, crying: "Oh! Will, Will, come to me! Why don't you kill me and let me go to him!" (At this time he supposed he had killed Clifford.) A letter was found on him, as follows: "Mersey, March 27th. To Him Who Cares to Read: Fearing that my motives in killing Clifford and myself may be misunderstood, I write this to explain the cause of this homicide and suicide. Last summer Clifford and I began a friendship which developed into love." He then recited the details of the friendship, and continued: "After playing a Liszt rhapsody for Clifford over and over, he said that when our time to die came he hoped we would die together, listening to such glorious music as that. Our time has now come to die, but death will not be accompanied by music. Clifford's love has, alas! turned to deadly hatred. For some reason Clifford suddenly ended our relations and friendship." In his cell he behaved in a wildly-excited manner, and made several attempts at suicide; so that he had to be closely watched. A few weeks later he wrote to Dr. Talbot: "Cook County Gaol, April 23d. I feel as though I had neglected you in not writing you in all this time, though you may not care to hear from me, as I have never done anything but trespass on your kindness. But please do me the justice of thinking that I never expected all this trouble, as I thought Will and I would be in our graves and at peace long before this. But my plans failed miserably. Poor Will was not dead, and I was grabbed before I could shoot myself. I think

Will really shot himself, and I feel certain others will think so, too, when the whole story comes out in court. I can't understand the surprise and indignation my act seemed to engender, as it was perfectly right and natural that Will and I should die together, and nobody else's business. Do you know I believe that poor boy will yet kill himself, for last November when I in my grief and anger told his relations about our marriage he was so frightened, hurt, and angry that he wanted us both to kill ourselves. I acquiesced gladly in this proposal to commit suicide, but he backed out in a day or two. I am glad now that Will is alive, and am glad that I am alive, even with the prospect of years of imprisonment before me, but which I will cheerfully endure for his sake. And yet for the last ten months his influence has so completely controlled me, both body and soul, that if I have done right he should have the credit for my good deeds, and if I have done wrong he should be blamed for the mischief, as I have not been myself at all, but a part of him, and happy to merge my individuality into his."

Olmstead was tried privately in July. No new points were brought out. He was sentenced to the Criminal Insane Asylum. Shortly afterward, while still in the prison at Chicago, he wrote to Dr. Talbot: "As you have been interested in my case from a scientific point of view, there is a little something more I might tell you about myself, but which I have withheld, because I was ashamed to admit certain facts and features of my deplorable weakness. Among the few sexual perverts I have known I have noticed that all are in the habit of often closing the mouth with the lower lip protruding beyond the upper. [Usually due to arrested development of upper jaw.] I noticed the peculiarity in Mr. Clifford before we became intimate, and I have often caught myself at the trick. Before that operation my testicles would swell and become sore and hurt me, and have seemed to do so since, just as a man will sometimes complain that his amputated leg hurts him. Then, too, my breasts would swell, and about the nipples would become hard and sore and red. Since the operation there has never been a day that I have been free from sharp, shooting pains down the abdomen to the scrotum, being worse at the base of the penis. Now that my fate is decided, I will say that really my passion for Mr. Clifford is on the wane, but I don't know whether the improvement is permanent or not. I have absolutely no passion for other men, and have begun to hope, now that I can yet outlive my desire for Clifford, or at least control it. I have not yet told of this improvement in my condition, because I wished people to still think I was insane, so that I would be sure to escape being sent to the penitentiary. I know I was insane at the time I tried to kill both Clifford and myself, and feel that I don't deserve such a dreadful punishment as being sent to a State prison. However, I think it was that operation and my subsequent illness that caused my insanity rather than passion for Clifford. I should very

much like to know if you really consider sexual perversion an insanity."

When discharged from the Criminal Insane Asylum, Olmstead returned to Chicago and demanded his testicles from the City Postmaster, whom he accused of being in a systematized conspiracy against him. He asserted that the postmaster was one of the chief agents in a plot against him, dating from before the castration. He was then sent to the Cook Insane Hospital. It seems probable that a condition of paranoia is now firmly established.

PSYCHOSEXUAL HERMAPHRODITISM.

This is the somewhat awkward name given to that form of inversion in which there exists a sexual attraction to both sexes. It is decidedly less common than simple inversion. We are only justified in including within this group those persons who find sexual pleasure and satisfaction both with men and with women; but in more than one of the following cases the homosexual is more powerful than the heterosexual instinct, and it is possible that these should really be regarded as cases of simple inversion. We have to remember that there is every inducement for the sexual invert to cultivate a spurious attraction to the opposite sex. In one case (XXXI) the heterosexual instinct seems to have been acquired; in another, however (XXXII), the homosexual instinct is apparently acquired.

CASE XXXI.—So far as is known, the heredity is good on both sides. He dates his homosexual desires from puberty. Between the ages of 16 and 20 he practiced masturbation to excess. He has never felt much attraction toward women except in one case, which ended (at the age of 25) in marriage. He finds marriage satisfactory on the whole, but is not enthusiastic about it.

He is an artist, of good *physique*, but highly nervous. He is sympathetic, very imaginative, regarded by his friends as a simple and beautiful nature somewhat lacking in strength. Between the ages of 16 and 23 he had many love-affairs, mostly with boys, but in one or two cases with older men. Since marriage there have been none of at all a serious character. He has in no case practiced *pædicatio*. He regards sexual inversion as in all respects on the same level as normal sexuality.

CASE XXXII.—Age 30, a brain-worker, of moderate *physique* and nervous temperament, not well balanced, rather passionate and jealous,

but thoroughly good natured. Both parents of healthy stock, so far as is known.

He practiced masturbation to a slight extent about the age of puberty. From the age of 15 or 16 he was strongly attracted to women, and had a constant succession of small love-affairs culminating in a violent one, which ended in disappointment. He was then 20 years of age. A few months later the homosexual instinct first showed itself spontaneously, without any assignable cause. For about a year the normal instinct disappeared, but reappeared and still continues. His homosexual feeling is only for one person, and the passion has continued, though not at the white heat of the first year or so, for ten years. His erotic dreams are about males.

He cannot afford to marry, but otherwise would probably do so. He has had no sexual relationship with his friend, although the impulse is very strong. He has been restrained, partly by fear of offense to the other person's feelings and partly by personal scruples. He used to have a horror of such things, both in his own case and that of others. He has got over this, but still looks on it as doubtful, while freely confessing his own infatuation in this one case.

CASE XXXIII.—Englishman, 40 years of age, retired from business. So far as he knows, belongs to a family that is quite normal.

Homosexual desires began at the age of 11 at a small private school, and were afterward developed at a large public school. He did not practice masturbation. His erotic dreams were connected with individuals of both sexes, but more usually, he thinks, with women. He likes women in a general way, and enjoys their society, but has always had a greater feeling of attraction toward a beautiful youth of 18 or 20 than toward a girl of the same age. He has often had connection with women, but, though he liked it, he has always preferred that with men. He has never been able to make up his mind to marry.

When a young boy he liked boys of his own age, but as he grew older he preferred those aged between 20 and 28, as also he does at present. Those belonging to his own social position, and clerks in business, he likes best, but is not averse at times to servants, sailors, and soldiers, provided they are clean, manly, and attractive in voice and manner. His usual method of gratification is intercrural connection, but at times he has been willing to practice *pædicatio*. He was fond of riding, boating, and sports as a boy; he is also fond of music and painting. His chief regret in connection with his homosexual instincts is that he is obliged to lead a double life.

CASE XXXIV.—Englishman, aged 22, clerk. A cousin on the mother's side was sexually inverted. The family otherwise normal and long-lived.

As a child, he preferred men's society, and would rather sit on the

knees of men than of women. He does not masturbate. His erotic dreams are usually of men, but sometimes of women. He has no aversion for women, but, on the contrary, great sexual attraction to them, and connection has often taken place successfully, but at the same time he has an equal fondness and sexual liking for males. He could not, he says, remain faithful to any woman, but could certainly remain faithful to a man, and such love would kill desire for women. He has remained quite faithful to one man for three years. He is not married, and has no wish for marriage. He is attracted to men of his own age, and practices either *pædicatio* or *fellatio*. In appearance he is broadly built, strong, and healthy, and is very fond of athletics in any form. He has doubts as to whether his feelings are right or wrong, but thinks they are natural to him. He believes that it is certainly no more wrong than sexual intercourse with women.

CASE XXXV.—English, aged 40, surgeon. Sexual experiences began early, about the age of 10, when a companion induced him to play at intercourse with their sisters. He experienced no pleasure. A little later a servant-girl began to treat him affectionately and at last called him into her bedroom when she was partially undressed, fondled and kissed his member, and taught him to masturbate her. On subsequent occasions she attempted a simulation of intercourse, which gave her satisfaction, but failed to induce emission in him. On returning to school mutual masturbation was practiced with schoolfellows, and the first emission took place at the age of 14.

On leaving school he became a slave to the charms of women, and had frequent coitus about the age of 17, but he preferred masturbating girls and especially in persuading girls of good position, to whom the experience was entirely novel, to allow him to take liberties with them. At 25 he became engaged, and mutual masturbation was practiced to excess during the engagement; after marriage connection generally took place twice every twenty-four hours until pregnancy.

"At this time," he writes, "I stayed at the house of an old school-fellow, one of my lovers of old days. There were so many guests that I shared my friend's bedroom. The sight of his body gave rise to lustful feelings, and when the light was out I stole across to his bed. He made no objection, and we passed the night in mutual masturbation. We passed the next fortnight together, and I never took the same pleasure in coitus with my wife, though I did my duty. She died five years later, and I devoted myself heart and soul to my friend until his death by accident last year. Since then I have lost all interest in life."

I am indebted for this case to a well-known English alienist, who remarks that the patient is fairly healthy to look at, but with neurasthenia and tendency to melancholia, and neurotic temperament. The body is masculine and pubic hair abundant. One testicle shows wasting.

CASES XXXVI AND XXXVII.—I give the following narrative in the words of an intimate friend of one of the cases in question: "My attention was first drawn to the study of inversion—though I then regarded all forms of it as depraving and abominable—at a public school, where in our dormitory a boy of 15 initiated his select friends into the secrets of mutual masturbation, which he had learned from his brother, a midshipman. I gave no heed to this at the time, though I remembered it in after-years when immersed in Plato, Lucretius, and the Epicurean writers. But my attention was riveted to it at the age of 20, when I spent a holiday with A., a companion with whom I was, and still am, on terms of great friendship. We enjoyed many things in common, studied together and discussed most unconventional matters, but not this. Previously we had always occupied separate sleeping apartments; on this occasion we were abroad in a country place, and were compelled to put up with what we could get. We not only had to share a room, but a bed. I was not surprised at his throwing his arm over me, as I knew he was extraordinarily attached to me, and I had always felt a brute for not returning his affection so warmly. But I was surprised when later I awoke to find him occupied in *fellatio* and endeavoring to obtain my response. Had it been anyone else I should have resented strongly such a liberty, and our acquaintance would have ended, but I cared for him too well, though never very demonstrative. This episode led to discussion of the topic. He told me that his sexual strength was great, that he had tested it in many ways, and that it was essential to his well-being that he should have satisfaction in some way. He loathed prostitution and considered it degrading; he felt physically attracted to some women and intellectually to others, but the two elements were never combined, and though he had been intimate with a few he felt that it was not right to them, as he could not marry them because he held too high an ideal of marriage. He had always felt attracted to his own sex, and had kept up a Platonic friendship with a college chum (to whom I knew he was passionately attached) for some years. Both considered it perfectly moral, and both felt better for it. Both abhor *pædicatio*. X., however, would never discuss the subject, and seemed half-ashamed of it. A., on the other hand, though showing a great self-respect in all things else, feels no shame, though he says he would never discuss it except with close friends or if asked for private advice.

"A. is the elder child of a military officer. His parents were 21 and 19, respectively, at the time of his birth. Both parents are healthy, and the two children (both boys) have good constitutions, though the elder has the better. He is of medium height and slender limbs, proud carriage, handsome and intellectual face (classic Greek type), excellent complexion, charming manners, and good temper. The penis is large, the foreskin very short. He is fond of philosophy, natural science, history, and litera-

ture. He is reflective and patient rather than smart, but strong-willed and very active when roused, never resting till he has accomplished what he wants, even if this takes years. He sings excellently, and is fond of cycling, boating, swimming, and mountain-climbing. He enjoys excellent health, and has never had a day's illness since he was 12 years of age. His sleep is dreamless. He says the only time he cannot sleep has been when in bed with some one who could not or would not satisfy him. He requires satisfaction at least once a week, twice or thrice in the hot season. He never smokes, nor drinks beer or spirits. He is still single, but believes that marriage would meet all his needs.

"X. is also an eldest child, of young and healthy parents (between 21 and 24 at his birth) of different class; father a builder. He is of pleasing, but not handsome, appearance; very sensitive, very neat, and methodical in all things; not very strong-willed, and very reserved to women. He is of very studious disposition, especially fond of philosophy, politics, and natural science; a good musician. Takes moderate exercise, but rather easily fatigued. Is generally healthy, but not overstrong. He is a vegetarian, and was brought up as a free-thinker. Until two years ago he was never attracted toward a girl; indeed, he disliked girls; but he is now engaged. For about eighteen months he has relinquished homosexuality, but has suffered from dreams, bad digestion, and peevishness since. He thinks the only remedy is marriage, which he is pushing on. He regards homosexuality as quite natural and normal, though his desires are not strong, and once a fortnight has always satisfied him. He was led to the practice by the reasoning of A., and because he felt a certain vague need, and this comforted him. He thinks it a matter of temperament and not to be discussed, except by scientists. He says he could never perform it except with his dearest friend, whose request he could not resist. He has a long foreskin, flesh like a woman's, and is well proportioned.

"Both men are ardent for social reform, the one actively, the other passively engaged in it. Both also regard the law as to homosexuality as absurd and demoralizing. They also think that the law prohibiting polygamy is largely the cause of prostitution, as many women are prevented from living honest lives and being cared for by some one, and many men could marry one woman for physical satisfaction and another for intellectual.

"They were devoted to each other when I first knew them; they are still friends, but separated by distance. Both are exceedingly honorable, and the latter is truthful to a fault."

I believe that a thorough psychological investigation of the two preceding cases, as well as of Case XXXI, might show that

they are really inverters who have acquired tolerance for heterosexuality. They are not personally known to me. The following case, with which I have been acquainted for many years, I regard as a more genuine example of psychosexual hermaphroditism:—

CASE XXXVIII.—Englishman, independent means, aged 52, married. His ancestry is of a complicated character. Some of his mother's forefathers in the last and earlier centuries are supposed to have been inverted. He remembers liking the caresses of his father's footmen when he was quite a little boy. He dreams indifferently about men and women, and has strong sexual feeling for women. Can copulate, but does not insist on this act; there is a tendency to refined, voluptuous pleasure. He has been married for many years, and there are several children by the marriage.

He is not particular about the class or age of the men he loves. He feels with regard to older men as a woman does, and likes to be caressed by them. He is immensely vain of his physical beauty; he shuns *padding* and does not much care for the sexual act, but likes long hours of voluptuous communion during which his lover admires him. He feels the beauty of boyhood. At the same time he is much attracted by young girls.

He is decidedly feminine in his dress, manner of walking, love of scents, ornaments, and fine things. His body is excessively smooth and white, the hips and buttocks rounded. Genital organs normal. His temperament is feminine, especially in vanity, irritability, and petty pre-occupations. He is much pre-occupied with his personal appearance and fond of admiration; on one occasion he was photographed naked as Bacchus. He is physically and morally courageous. He has a genius for poetry and speculation, with a tendency to mysticism.

He feels the discord between his love for men and society, also between it and his love for his wife. He regards it as, in part, at least, hereditary and inborn in him.

CHAPTER IV.

SEXUAL INVERSION IN WOMEN.

Prevalence of Sexual Inversion Among Women—Among the Lower Races—Temporary Homosexuality in Schools, etc.—Cases XXXIX-XLII—Physical and Psychic Characteristics of Inverted Women—The Modern Development of Homosexuality Among Women—Homosexuality Among Prostitutes.

HOMOSEXUALITY has been observed in women from very early times, and in very wide-spread regions. Refraining from any attempt to trace its history, and coming down to Europe in the eighteenth century, we find a case of sexual inversion in a woman, which seems to be recorded in greater detail than any case in a man had yet been recorded. Moreover, Westphal's first notable case, which may be said to inaugurate the scientific study of sexual inversion, was in a woman. The passion of women for women has, also, formed a favorite subject with the novelist, who has until lately been careful to avoid the same subject as presented in the male. It is certain that homosexuality is by no means less common in women than in men.

The eighteenth century case referred to above is that of Catherina Margaretha Lincken, who married another woman, somewhat after the manner of the Hungarian Countess V. in our own day: *i.e.*, with the aid of an artificial male organ. She was condemned to death for sodomy, and executed in 1721, at the age of 27 (F. C. Müller, "Ein weiterer Fall von conträrer Sexualempfindung," *Friedreich's Blätter*, H. 4, 1891). This was in Germany, and it is somewhat remarkable that even at a much earlier period such an instrument appears to have been used by German women, for in the twelfth century Bishop Burchardt, of Worms, speaks of its use as a thing "which some women are accustomed to do." I have found a notice of a similar case in France, during the sixteenth century, in Montaigne's *Journal du Voyage en Italie* en 1550 (written by his secretary); it took place near Vitry le Française. Seven or eight girls belonging to Chaumont, we are told, resolved to dress and to work as men; one of these came to Vitry to work as a weaver, and was looked upon as

a well-conditioned young man, and liked by everyone. At Vitry she became betrothed to a woman, but, a quarrel arising, no marriage took place. Afterward "she fell in love with a woman whom she married, and with whom she lived for four or five months, to the wife's great contentment, it is said; but having been recognized by some one from Chaumont, and brought to justice, she was condemned to be hanged. She said she would even prefer this to living again as a girl, and was hanged for using illicit inventions to supply the defects of her sex" (*Journal*, ed. by d'Ancona, 1889, p. 11).

Ariosto, it has been pointed out, has described the homosexual attractions of women. Diderot's famous novel, *La Religieuse*, which, when first published, was thought to have been actually written by a nun, deals with the torture to which a nun was put by the perverse lubricity of her abbess, for whom, it is said, Diderot found a model in the Abbess of Chelles, a daughter of the Regent, and thus a member of a family which for several generations showed a marked tendency to inversion. Diderot's narrative has been described as a faithful description of the homosexual phenomena liable to occur in convents. Balzac, who treated so many psychological aspects of love in a more or less veiled manner, has touched on this in *La Fille aux Yeux d'Or*, in a vague and extravagantly romantic fashion. Gautier (using some slight foundation in fact) made the adventures of a woman who was predisposed to homosexuality, and slowly realizes the fact, the central motive of his wonderful romance, *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. He approached the subject purely as an artist and poet, but his handling of it shows remarkable insight. Zola has described sexual inversion with characteristic frankness in *Nana* and elsewhere. Some twenty years ago a popular novelist, A. Belot, published a novel called *Mademoiselle Giraud, ma Femme*, which was much read; the novelist took the attitude of a moralist who is bound to treat frankly, but with all decorous propriety, a subject of increasing social gravity. The story is that of a man whose bride will not allow his approach on account of her own *liaison* with a female friend continued after marriage. This book appears to have given origin to a large number of novels, which I have not read, and some of which are said to touch the question with considerably less affectation of propriety. Among other novelists of higher rank who have dealt with the matter may be mentioned Guy de Maupassant, Bourget, Daudet, and Catulle Mendès. Among poets who have used the motive of homosexuality in women with more or less boldness may be found Lamartine (*Regina*), Swinburne (first series of *Poems and Ballads*), and Verlaine (*Parallèlement*).

It is noteworthy that a considerable proportion of the number of cases in which inversion has led to crimes of violence, or otherwise acquired medico-legal importance, has been among women. Perhaps the most widely known example is the Memphis case, which occurred in the

United States, and has been studied by Dr. Arthur Macdonald ("Observation de Sexualité Pathologique Feminine," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, May, 1895). In this case a congenital sexual invert, Alice Mitchell, planned a marriage with Freda Ward, taking a male name and costume. This scheme was frustrated by Freda's sister, and Alice Mitchell then cut Freda's throat. There is no reason to suppose that she was insane at the time of the murder. She was a typical invert of a very pronounced kind. Her mother had been insane and had homicidal impulses. She herself was considered unbalanced, and was masculine in her habits from her earliest years. Her face was obviously unsymmetrical and she had an appearance of youthfulness below her age. She was not vicious, and had little knowledge of sexual matters, but when she kissed Freda she was ashamed of being seen, while Freda could see no reason for being ashamed.

Another American case (for some details concerning which I am indebted to Dr. J. G. Kiernan, of Chicago) is that of the "Tiller Sisters," two quintroons, who for many years had acted together under that name in cheap theaters. One, who was an invert, with a horror of men dating from early girlhood, was sexually attached to the other, who was without inborn inversion, and was eventually induced by a man to leave the invert. The latter, overcome by jealousy, broke into the apartment of the couple, and shot the man dead. She was tried, and sent to prison for life. A defense of insanity was made, but for this there was no evidence.

In another case, also occurring in Chicago (reported in *Medicine*, June, 1899, and *Alienist and Neurologist*, October, 1899), a trained nurse lived for fourteen years with a young woman who left her on four different occasions, but was each time induced to return; finally, however, she left and married, whereupon the nurse shot the husband, who was not, however, fatally wounded. The culprit in this case had been twice married, but had not lived with either of her husbands; it was stated that her mother had died in an asylum, and that her brother had committed suicide. She was charged with disorderly conduct and fined.

Homosexual relationships are also a cause of suicide among women. Such a case was reported in Massachusetts early in 1901. (For the newspaper report of this case I am indebted to Dr. G. J. Engelmann, of Boston.) A girl of 21 had been tended during a period of nervous prostration, apparently of hysterical nature, by a friend and neighbor, 14 years her senior, married and having children. An intimate friendship grew up, equally ardent on both sides. The mother of the younger woman and the husband of the other took measures to put a stop to the intimacy, and the girl was sent away to a distant city; stolen interviews, however, still occurred. Finally, when the obstacles became insurmountable, the younger woman bought a revolver and deliberately shot herself in the

temple, in presence of her mother, dying immediately. Though sometimes thought to act rather strangely, she was a great favorite with all, handsome, very athletic, fond of all out-door sports, an energetic religious worker, possessing a fine voice, and was an active member of many clubs and societies. The older woman belonged to an aristocratic family and was loved and respected by all.

It is noteworthy that such cases, in which women commit deeds of violence as a result of homosexual passion, certainly occur much more frequently in America than in Europe.

Yet we know comparatively little of sexual inversion in woman; of the total number of recorded cases of this abnormality, now very considerable, only a small proportion are in women, and the chief monographs on the subject devote but little space to women.¹

I think there are several reasons for this. Notwithstanding the severity with which homosexuality in women has been visited in a few cases, for the most part men seem to have been indifferent toward it; when it has been made a crime or a cause for divorce in men, it has usually been considered as no offense at all in women.² Another reason is that it is less easy to detect in women; we are accustomed to a much greater familiarity and intimacy between women than between men, and we are less apt to suspect the existence of any abnormal passion. And allied with this cause we have also to bear in mind the extreme ignorance and the extreme reticence of women regarding any abnormal or even normal manifestation of their sexual life. A woman may feel a high degree of sexual attraction for another woman without realizing that her affection is sexual, and when she does realize it she is nearly always very unwilling to reveal the nature

¹ Moll's chapter on homosexual phenomena in women in the third edition of his *Konträre Sexualempfindung* (1899) is, however, an important contribution to the scientific study of the subject, and thirteen cases are narrated. Krafft-Ebing has devoted but little attention to sexual inversion in women.

² This apparently wide-spread opinion is represented by the remark of a young man in the last century (concerning the Lesbian friend of the woman he wishes to marry), quoted in the Comte de Tilly's *Souvenirs*: *J'avoue que c'est un genre de rivalité qui ne me donne aucune humeur; au contraire, cela m'amuse et j'ai l'immoralité d'en rire.*

of her intimate experience, even with the adoption of precautions, and although the fact may be present to her that, by helping to reveal the nature of her abnormality, she may be helping to lighten the burden of it on other women. Among the numerous confessions voluntarily sent to Krafft-Ebing there is not one by a woman. There is, I think, one other reason why sexual inversion is less obvious in a woman. We have some reason to believe that, while a slight degree of homosexuality is commoner in women than in men, and is favored by the conditions under which women live, well-marked and fully-developed cases of inversion are rarer in women than in men. This result would be in harmony with the evidence as to the greater affectability of the feminine organism to slight stimuli, and its lesser liability to serious variation.¹

The same kind of aberrations that are found among men in lower races are also seen in women, though they are less frequently recorded. In New Zealand it is stated on the authority of Moerenhout (though I have not been able to find the reference) that the women practiced Lesbianism. In South America, where inversion is common among men, we find similar phenomena in women. Among Brazilian tribes Gandavo² wrote:—

“There are certain women among these Indians who determine to be chaste and know no man. These leave every womanly occupation and imitate the men. They wear their hair the same way as the men, they go to war with them or hunting, bearing their bows; they continue always in the company of men, and each has a woman who serves her and with whom she lives.”

This has some analogy with the phenomena seen among North American men. Dr. Holder, however, who has carefully studied the *boté*, tells me that he has met no corresponding phenomena in women.

In Bali, according to Jacobs,³ homosexuality is almost as

¹ See H. Ellis, *Man and Woman*, Chapters XIII and XV.

² Gandavo, quoted by Lomacco, *Archivio per l'Antropologia*, 1889, fasc. 1.

³ As quoted by Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, 1895, B. 1, p. 390.

common among women as among men, though it is more secretly exercised; the methods of gratification adopted are either digital or lingual, or else by bringing the parts together (tribadism).

Baumann, whose notes on the occurrence of sexual inversion among the male negro population of Zanzibar have been elsewhere referred to, finds that it is not rare among women. Although Oriental manners render it impossible for such women to wear men's clothes openly, they do so in private, and are recognized by other women by their man-like bearing, as also by the fact that women's garments do not suit them. They show a preference for masculine occupations, and seek sexual satisfaction among women who have the same inclinations, or else among normal women, who are won over by presents or other means. In addition to tribadism or cunnilingus, they sometimes use an ebony or ivory phallus, with a kind of glans at one end, or sometimes at both ends; in the latter case it can be used by two women at once, and sometimes it has a hole bored through it by which warm water can be injected; it is regarded as an Arab invention, and is sometimes used by normal women shut up in harems, and practically deprived of sexual satisfaction.¹

Among Arab women, according to Kocher, homosexual practices are rare, though very common among Arab men. In Egypt, however, according to Godard, Kocher, and others, it is almost fashionable, and every woman in the harem has a "friend." Among the negroes and mulattoes of French creole countries, according to Corre, homosexuality is very common. "I know a lady of great beauty," he remarks, "a stranger in Guadalupe and the mother of a family, who is obliged to stay away from the markets and certain shops because of the excessive admiration of mulatto women and negresses, and the impudent invitations which they dare to address to her."² He refers to several cases of more or less violent sexual attempts by women on young colored girls of 12 or 14, and observes that such attempts by men on children of their own sex are much rarer.

¹ *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, H. 6, 1899, p. 669.

² Corre, *Crime en Pays Créoles*, 1889.

In China (according to Matignon) and in Cochin China (according to Lorion) homosexuality does not appear to be common among women. In India, however, it is probably as prevalent among women as it certainly is among men.

In the first edition of this work I quoted the opinion of Surgeon-Major Buchanan, Superintendent of the Central Gaol of Bengal at Bhagalpur, who informed me that he had never come across a case and that his head-gaoler had never heard of such a thing in twenty-five years' experience. Another officer in the Indian Medical Service assures me, however, that there cannot be the least doubt as to the frequency of homosexuality among women in India, either inside or outside gaols. I am indebted to him for the following notes on this point:—

"That homosexual relationships are common enough among Indian women is evidenced by the fact that the Hindustani language has five words to denote the tribade: (1) *dúgáná*, (2) *zanákhé*, (3) *sa'tar*, (4) *chaphathái*, and (5) *chapatbáz*. The *modus operandi* is generally what Martial calls *geminos committere cunnos*, but sometimes a phallus, called *saburah*, is employed. The act itself is called *chapat* or *chapti*, and the Hindustani poets, Nazie, Rangús, Ján Súhat, treat of Lesbian love very extensively and sometimes very crudely. Ján Súhat, a woman poet, sings to the effect that intercourse with a woman by means of a phallus is to be preferred to the satisfaction offered by a male lover. The common euphemism employed when speaking of two tribades who live together is that they 'live apart.' So much for the literary evidence as to the prevalence of what, *mirabile dictu*, Dr. Buchanan's gaoler was ignorant of.

"Now for facts. In the gaol of R. the superintendent discovered a number of phalli in the females' inclosure; they were made of clay and sun-dried and bore marks of use. In the gaol of S. was a woman who (as is usual with tribades in India) wore male attire, and was well known for her sexual proclivities. An examination revealed the following: Face much lined, mammae of masculine type, but nipples elongated and readily erectile; gluteal and iliac regions quite of masculine type, as also the thighs; clitoris, with enlarged glands, readily erectile; nymphae thickened and enlarged; vulvar orifice patent, for she had in early youth been a prostitute; the voice was almost contralto. Her partner was of low type, but eminently feminine in configuration and manner. In this case I heard that 'the man' went to a local ascetic and begged his intercession with the deity, so that she might impregnate her partner. ('The Hindoo medical works mention the possibility of a woman uniting with another woman in sexual embraces and begetting a boneless fetus.' *Short History of Aryan Medical Science*, p. 44.)

"In the town of D. there 'lived apart' two women, one a Brahmin,

the other a grazier; their *modus operandi* was tribadism, as an eye-witness informed me. In S. I was called in to treat the widow of a wealthy Mohammedan; I had occasion to examine the pudenda, and found what Martineau would have called the indelible stigmata of early masturbation and later sapphism. She admitted the impeachment and confessed that she was on the best of terms with her three remarkably well-formed and good-looking handmaidens. This lady said that she began masturbation at an early age, 'just like all other women,' and that sapphism came after the age of puberty. Another Mohammedan woman whom I knew, and who had a very large clitoris, told me that she had been initiated into Lesbian love at 12 by a neighbor and had intermittently practiced it ever since. I might also instance two sisters of the gardener caste, both widows, who 'lived apart' and indulged in simultaneous sapphism.

"That sometimes the actors in tribadism are most vigorous is shown by the fact that, in the central gaol of —, swelling of the vulva was admitted to have been caused by the embraces of two female convicts. The subordinate who told me this mentioned it quite incidentally while relating his experiences as hospital assistant at this gaol. When I questioned him he stated that the woman, whom he was called to treat, told him that she could never 'satisfy herself' with men, but only with women. He added that tribadism was 'quite common in the gaol.'"

The foregoing sketch may serve to show that homosexual practices certainly, and probably definite sexual inversion, are very wide-spread among women in very many and various parts of the world, though it is probable that, as among men, there are variations—geographical, racial, national, or social—in the frequency or intensity of its obvious manifestations. Thus, in the last century, Casanova remarked that the women of Provence are specially inclined to Lesbianism.

In prisons and lunatic asylums in Europe homosexual practices flourish among the women fully as much, it may probably be said, as among the men. There is, indeed, some reason for supposing that these phenomena are here sometimes even more decisively marked than among men.¹ Such manifestations are

¹ In a Spanish prison, not many years ago, when a new governor endeavored to reform the homosexual manners of the women, the latter made his post so uncomfortable that he was compelled to resign. Salillas, *Vida Penal en España*, asserts that all the evidence shows the extraordinary expansion of Lesbian love in prisons. The *mujeres hombrunas*

often very morbid, and doubtless often very vicious; I have no light to throw upon them, and I do not propose to consider them.

With girls, as with boys, it is in the school, at the evolution of puberty, that homosexuality first shows itself. It may originate either in a way mainly peripheral or mainly central, though both these elements must usually be more or less combined. In the first case, two children, perhaps when close to each other in bed, more or less unintentionally generate in each other a certain amount of sexual irritation, which they foster by mutual touching and kissing. This is a spurious kind of homosexuality; it is merely the often precocious play of the normal instinct, and has no necessary relation to true sexual inversion. In the girl who is congenitally predisposed to homosexuality it will continue and develop; in the majority it will be forgotten as quickly as possible, not without shame, in the presence of the normal object of sexual love.

I may quote as fairly typical the following observation supplied by a lady who cannot be called inverted: "Like so many other children and girls, I was first taught self-indulgence by a girl at school, and I passed on my knowledge to one or two others, with one of whom I remember once, when we were just sixteen, spending the night sensually. We were horribly ashamed after, and that was the only time. When I was only eight there was a girl of thirteen who liked to play with my body, and taught me to play with hers, though I rather disliked doing so. We slept together, and this went on at intervals for six months. These things, for the sake of getting enjoyment, and not with any passion, are not uncommon with children, but less common, I think, than people sometimes imagine. I believe I could recall without much difficulty the number of times such things happened with me. In the case I mentioned when I did for one night feel—or try to excite in myself and my girl-companion of sixteen—sensual passion, we had as little children slept together a few times and done these things, and meeting after an absence, just at that age, recalled our childish memories, and were carried away by sexual impulse. But I never felt any peculiar affection or passion for her even at the time, nor she for me. We only felt that our

receive masculine names—Pepe, Chulo, Bernardo, Valiente; new-comers are surrounded in the court-yard by a crowd of lascivious women, who overwhelm them with honeyed compliments and gallantries and promises of protection, the most robust virago having most successes; a single day and night complete the initiation.

sensual nature was strong at the time, and had betrayed us into something we were ashamed of, and, therefore, we avoided letting ourselves sleep too close after that day. I think we disliked each other, and were revolted whenever we thought of that night, feeling that each had degraded the other and herself."

This kind of homosexuality is specially fostered by those employments which keep women in constant association, not only by day, but often at night also, without the company of men. This is, for instance, the case with the female servants in large hotels, among whom homosexual practices have been found very common.¹ Laycock, many years ago, noted the prevalence of manifestations of this kind, which he regarded as hysterical, among seamstresses, lace-makers, etc., confined for long hours in close contact to one another in heated rooms. The circumstances under which numbers of young women are employed during the day in large shops and factories, and sleep in the establishment, two in a room or even two in a bed, are favorable to the development of homosexual practices.

In England it is seldom that anyone cares to investigate these phenomena, though they certainly exist. They have been more thoroughly studied elsewhere. Thus, in Rome Niceforo, who studied various aspects of the lives of the working classes, succeeded in obtaining much precise information concerning the manners and customs of the young girls in dress-making and tailoring work-rooms. He remarks that few of those who see the "virtuous daughters of the people," often not more than twelve years old, walking along the streets with the dress-maker's box under their arm, modestly bent head and virginal air, realize the intense sexual pre-occupations often underlying these appearances. In the work-rooms the conversation perpetually revolves around sexual subjects in the absence of the mistress or forewoman, and even in her presence the slang that prevails in the work-rooms leads to dialogues with a double meaning. A state of sexual excitement is thus aroused which sometimes relieves itself mentally by psychic onanism, sometimes by some form of masturba-

¹ I quote the following from a private letter written in Switzerland: "An English resident has told me that his wife has lately had to send away her parlor-maid (a pretty girl) because she was always taking in strange women to sleep with her. I asked if she had been taken from hotel service, and found, as I expected, that she had. But neither my friend nor his wife suspected the real cause of these nocturnal visits."

tion; one girl admitted to Niceforo that by allowing her thoughts to dwell on the subject while at work she sometimes produced physical sexual excitement as often as four times a day. (See also H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, volume ii, "Auto-erotism.") Sometimes, however, a vague kind of homosexuality is produced, the girls, excited by their own thoughts and their conversation, being still further excited by contact with each other. "In summer, in one work-room, some of the girls wear no drawers, and they unbutton their bodices, and work with crossed legs, more or less uncovered. In this position the girls draw near and inspect one another; some boast of their white legs, and then the petticoats are raised altogether for more careful comparison. Many enjoy this inspection of nudity, and experience real sexual pleasure. From midday till 2 P.M., during the hours of greatest heat, when all are in this condition, and the mistress, in her chemise (and sometimes, with no shame at the workers' presence, even without it), falls asleep on the sofa, all the girls, *without one exception*, masturbate themselves. The heat seems to sharpen their desires and morbidly arouse all their senses. The voluptuous emotions, restrained during the rest of the day, break out with irresistible force; stimulated by the spectacle of each other's nakedness, some place their legs together and thus heighten the spasm by the illusion of contact with a man." In this way they reach mutual masturbation. "It is noteworthy, however," Niceforo points out, "that these couples for mutual masturbation are never Lesbian couples. Tribadism is altogether absent from the factories and work-rooms." He even believes that it does not exist among girls of the working class. He further describes how, in another work-room, during the hot hours of the day in summer, when no work is done, some of the girls retire into the fitting-room, and, having fastened their chemises round their legs and thighs with pins, so as to imitate trousers, play at being men and pretend to have intercourse with the others. (Niceforo, *Il Gergo*, cap. vi, 1897, Turin.) I have reproduced these details from Niceforo's careful study because, although they may seem to be trivial at some points, they clearly bring out the very important distinction between a merely spurious homosexuality and true inversion. The amusements of these young girls may not be considered eminently innocent or wholesome, but, on the other hand, they are not radically morbid or vicious. They are strictly, and even consciously, *play*; they are dominated by the thought that the true sexual ideal is normal relationship with a man, and they would certainly disappear in the presence of a man.

It must be remembered that Niceforo's observations were made among girls who were mostly young. In the large factories, where many adult women are employed, the phenomena tend to be of much less trivial and playful character. At Wolverhampton, some years ago, the case was reported of a woman, in a galvanizing "store," who after dinner indecently

assaulted a girl who was a new hand. Two young women held the victim down, and this seems to show that homosexual vice was here common and recognized. No doubt, this case is exceptional in its brutality.¹ It throws, however, a significant light on the conditions prevailing in factories. In Spain, in the large factories where many adult women are employed, especially in the great tobacco-factory at Seville, Lesbian relationships seem to be not uncommon. Here the women work in an atmosphere which in summer is so hot that they throw off the greater part of their clothing, to such an extent that a bell is rung whenever a visitor is introduced into a work-room, in order to warn the workers. Such an environment predisposes to the formation of homosexual relationships. When I was in Spain a few years ago an incident occurred at the Seville Fábrica de Tabacos which attracted much attention in the newspapers, and, though it was regarded as unusual, it throws light on the life of the workers. One morning as the women were entering the work-room and amid the usual scene of animation changing their Manila shawls for the light costume worn during work, one drew out a small clasp-knife and, attacking another, rapidly inflicted six or seven wounds on her face and neck, threatening to kill anyone who approached. Both these *cigarreras* were superior workers, engaged in the most skilled kind of work, and had been at the factory for many years. In appearance they were described as presenting a striking contrast: The aggressor, who was 48 years of age, was of masculine air, tall and thin, with an expression of firm determination on her wrinkled face; the victim, on the other hand, whose age was 30, was plump and good looking and of pleasing disposition. The reason at first assigned for the attack by the younger woman was that her mother had insulted the elder woman's son. It appeared, however, that a close friendship had existed between the two women, that latterly the younger woman had formed a friendship with the forewoman of her work-room, and that the elder woman, animated by jealousy, then resolved to murder both; this design was frustrated, in part by the younger woman refusing to go aside with her and in part by the accidental absence of the forewoman that day.

There is reason to believe that homosexual relationships are not uncommon among Spanish women. Thus the characteristic dances of Spain are performed by young women who never sell their persons, but who are said frequently to form homosexual relationships among themselves.

¹ It would certainly not be easy to parallel it outside England. It is such cases as these which have led to the view that brutality is a special English characteristic. This view is maintained, for instance, with much wealth of illustrative examples, by Dr. Eugen Dühren in a history of sexual life in England, on the whole by no means unsympathetic, *Das Geschlechtsleben in England*, 1901, B. 1, pp. 8 *et seq.* I may refer also to the conduct of youths in London warehouses, as already illustrated (p. 47).

In theaters the abnormal sexuality stimulated by this association in work is complicated by the general tendency for homosexuality to be connected with dramatic aptitude, a point to which I shall have to refer later on. I am indebted to a friend for the following note: "Passionate friendships among girls, from the most innocent to the most elaborate excursions in the direction of Lesbos, are extremely common in theaters, both among actresses and, even more, among chorus- and ballet- girls. Here the pell-mell of the dressing-rooms, the wait of perhaps two hours between the performances, during which all the girls are cooped up, in a state of inaction and of excitement, in a few crowded dressing-rooms, afford every opportunity for the growth of this particular kind of sentiment. In most of the theaters there is a little circle of girls, somewhat avoided by the others, or themselves careless of further acquaintanceship, who profess the most unbounded devotion to one another. Most of these girls are equally ready to flirt with the opposite sex, but I know certain ones among them who will scarcely speak to a man, and who are never seen without their particular 'pal' or 'chum,' who, if she gets moved to another theater, will come around and wait for her friend at the stage-door. But here, again, it is but seldom that the experience is carried very far. The fact is that the English girl, especially of the lower and middle classes, whether she has lost her virtue or not, is extremely fettered by conventional notions. Ignorance and habit are two restraining influences from the carrying out of this particular kind of perversion to its logical conclusions. It is, therefore, among the upper ranks, alike of society and of prostitution, that Lesbianism is most definitely to be met with, for here we have much greater liberty of action, and much greater freedom from prejudices."

The cases in which the source is mainly central, rather than peripheral, nevertheless merge into the foregoing, with no clear line of demarkation. In such cases a school-girl or young woman forms an ardent attachment for another girl, probably somewhat older than herself, often a schoolfellow, sometimes her school-mistress, upon whom she will lavish an astonishing amount of affection and devotion. This affection may or may not be re-

turned; usually the return consists of a gracious acceptance of the affectionate services. The girl who expends this wealth of devotion is surcharged with emotion, but she is often unconscious of or ignorant of the sexual impulse, and she seeks for no form of sexual satisfaction. Kissing and the privilege of sleeping with the friend are, however, sought, and at such times it often happens that even the comparatively unresponsive friend feels more or less definite sexual emotion (pudendal turgescence, with secretion of mucus and involuntary twitching of the neighboring muscles), though little or no attention may be paid to this phenomenon, and in the common ignorance of girls concerning sex-matters it may not be understood. In some cases there is an attempt, either instinctive or intentional, to develop the sexual feeling by close embraces and kissing. This rudimentary kind of homosexual relationship is, I believe, more common among girls than among boys, and for this there are several reasons: (1) a boy more often has some acquaintance with sexual phenomena, and would frequently regard such a relationship as unmanly; (2) the girl has a stronger need of affection and self-devotion to another person than a boy has; (3) she has not, under our existing social conditions which compel young women to hold the opposite sex at arm's length, the same opportunities of finding an outlet for her sexual emotions; while (4) conventional propriety recognizes a considerable degree of physical intimacy between girls, thus at once encouraging and cloaking the manifestations of homosexuality.

The ardent attachments which girls in schools and colleges form to each other and to their teachers constitute a subject which is of considerable psychological interest and of no little practical importance. These girlish devotions, on the borderland between friendship and sexual passion, are found in all countries where girls are segregated for educational purposes, and their symptoms are, on the whole, singularly uniform, though they vary in intensity and character to some extent, from time to time and from place to place, sometimes assuming an epidemic form. They have been most carefully studied in Italy, where Obici and Marchesini—an alienist and a psychologist working in

conjunction—have analyzed the phenomena with remarkable insight and delicacy and much wealth of illustrative material.¹ But exactly the same phenomena are everywhere found in English girls' schools, even of the most modern type, and in some of the large American women's colleges they have sometimes become so acute as to cause much anxiety.²

These passionate friendships, of a more or less unconsciously sexual character, are also common, even outside and beyond school-life. It frequently happens that a period during which a young woman falls in love at a distance with some young man of her acquaintance alternates with periods of intimate attachment to a friend of her own sex. No congenital inversion is usually involved. It generally happens, in the end, either that relationship with a man brings the normal impulse into permanent play or the steadying of the emotions in the stress of practical life leads to a knowledge of the real nature of such feelings and a consequent distaste for them. In some cases, on the other hand, such relationships, especially when formed after school-life, are fairly permanent. An energetic emotional woman, not usually beautiful, will perhaps be devoted to another who may have found some rather specialized life-work, but who may be very unpractical, and who has probably a very feeble sexual instinct; she is grateful for her friend's devotion, but may not actively reciprocate it. The actual specific sexual phenomena generated in such cases vary very greatly. The emotion may be latent or unconscious; it may be all on one side; it is often more or less recognized and shared. Such cases are on the borderland of true sexual inversion, but they cannot be included within its region. Sex in these relationships is scarcely the essential and fundamental element; it is more or less subordinate and parasitic. There is often a semblance of a sex-relationship from the marked divergence of the friends in physical and psychic qualities, and the nervous development of one or both the friends

¹ Obici and Marchesini, *Le "Amicizie" di Collegio*, Rome, 1898.

² See Appendix D, in which I have briefly summarized the result of the investigation by Obici and Marchesini, and also brought forward observations concerning English colleges.

is often slightly abnormal. We have to regard such relationships as hypertrophied friendships, the hypertrophy being due to unemployed sexual instinct.

For many of the remarks which I have to make regarding true inversion in women I am not able to bring forward the justificatory individual instances. I possess a considerable amount of information, but, owing to the tendencies already mentioned, this information is, for the most part, more or less fragmentary, and, when it is more complete I am not always free to use it.

A class of women to be first mentioned, a class in which homosexuality, while fairly distinct, is only slightly marked, is formed by the women to whom the actively inverted woman is most attracted. These women differ, in the first place, from the normal, or average, woman in that they are not repelled or disgusted by lover-like advances from persons of their own sex. They are not usually attractive to the average man, though to this rule there are many exceptions. Their faces may be plain or ill made, but not seldom they possess good figures: a point which is apt to carry more weight with the inverted woman than beauty of face. Their sexual impulses are seldom well marked, but they are of strongly affectionate nature. On the whole, they are women who are not very robust and well developed, physically or nervously, and who are not well adapted for child-bearing, but who still possess many excellent qualities, and they are always womanly. One may, perhaps, say that they are the pick of the women whom the average man would pass by. No doubt, this is often the reason why they are open to homosexual advances, but I do not think it is the sole reason. So far as they may be said to constitute a class, they seem to possess a genuine, though not precisely sexual, preference for women over men, and it is this coldness, rather than lack of charm, which often renders men rather indifferent to them.

The actively inverted woman differs from the woman of the class just mentioned in one fairly essential character: a more or less distinct trace of masculinity. She may not be, and frequently is not, what would be called a "mannish" woman, for

the latter may imitate men on grounds of taste and habit unconnected with sexual perversion, while in the inverted woman the masculine traits are part of an organic instinct which she by no means always wishes to accentuate. The inverted woman's masculine element may, in the least degree, consist only in the fact that she makes advances to the woman to whom she is attracted and treats all men in a cool, direct manner, which may not exclude comradeship, but which excludes every sexual relationship, whether of passion or merely of coquetry. Usually the inverted woman feels absolute indifference toward men, and not seldom repulsion. And this feeling, as a rule, is instinctively reciprocated by men.

CASE XXXIX.—Miss S., aged 38, living in a city of the United States of America, a business woman of fine intelligence, prominent in professional and literary circles. Her general health is good, but she belongs to a family in which there is a marked neuropathic element. She is of rather phlegmatic temperament, well poised, always perfectly calm and self-possessed, rather retiring in disposition, with gentle, dignified bearing.

She says she cannot care for men, but that all her life has been "glorified and made beautiful by friendship with women," whom she loves as a man loves women. Her character is, however, well disciplined, and her friends are not aware of the nature of her affections. She tries not to give all her love to one person, and endeavors (as she herself expresses it) to use this "gift of loving" as a stepping-stone to high mental and spiritual attainments. She is described by one who has known her for several years as "having a high nature, and instincts unerringly toward high things."

CASE XL.—Miss M., aged 29, the daughter of English parents (both musicians), who were both of what is described as "intense" temperaments, and there is a neurotic element in the family; she is herself, however, free from nervous disease. At birth she was very small. In a portrait taken at the age of 4 the nose, mouth, and ears are abnormally large, and she wears a little boy's hat. As a child she did not care for dolls or for pretty clothes, and often wondered why other children found so much pleasure in them. "As far back as my memory goes," she writes, "I cannot recall a time when I was not different from other children. I felt bored when other little girls came to play with me, though I was never rough or boisterous in my sports." Sewing was distasteful to her. Still she cared little

more for the pastimes of boys, and found her favorite amusement in reading, especially adventures and fairy-tales. She was always quiet, timid, and self-conscious. The instinct first made its appearance in the latter part of her eighth or the first part of her ninth year. She was strongly attracted by the face of a teacher who used to appear at a side-window on the second floor of the school-building and ring a bell to summon the children to their classes. The teacher's face seemed very beautiful, but sad, and she thought about her continually. A year later this teacher was married and left the school, and the impression gradually faded away. The next feelings were experienced when she was about eleven years of age. A young lady came to visit a next-door neighbor, and made so profound an impression on the child that she was ridiculed by her playmates for preferring to sit in a dark corner on the lawn—where she might watch this young lady—rather than to play games. Being a sensitive child, after this experience she was careful not to reveal her feelings to anyone. She felt instinctively that in this she was different from others. Her sense of beauty developed early, but there was always an indefinable feeling of melancholy associated with it. The twilight, a dark night when the stars shone brightly, these had a very depressing effect upon her, but possessed a strong attraction nevertheless, and pictures appealed to her. At the age of 12 she fell in love with a schoolmate, and wept bitterly because they could not be confirmed at the same time. The face of this friend reminded her of one of Dolce's Madonnas which she loved. Later on she loved another friend very dearly, and devoted herself to her care; and upon the death of this friend, eight years afterward, she resolved never to let her heart go out to anyone again. Specific physical gratification plays no part in these relationships. "I have been able," she writes, "successfully to master the desire for a more perfect and complete expression of my feelings, and I have done so without serious detriment to my health." "I love few people," she writes again, "but in these instances when I have permitted my heart to go out to a friend I have always experienced most exalted feelings, and have been made better by them morally, mentally, and spiritually. Love is with me a religion. The very nature of my affection for my friends precludes the possibility of any element entering into it which is not absolutely pure and sacred."

With regard to her attitude toward the other sex, she writes: "I have never felt a dislike for men, but have good comrades among them. During my childhood I associated with both girls and boys, enjoying them all, but wondering why the girls cared to flirt with boys. Later in life I have had other friendships with men, some of whom cared for me, much to my regret, for, naturally, I do not care to marry."

She is a musician, and herself attributes her nature in part to her artistic temperament. She is of good intelligence, and always stood well in her classes, but the development of the intellectual faculties is

somewhat uneven. While weak in mathematics, she shows remarkable talent for various branches of physical science, to which of late years she has devoted herself, but has always been hampered by this deficiency in mathematics. She is small, though her features are rather large. Medical examination shows a small vagina and orifice, though scarcely, perhaps, abnormally so in proportion to her size. A further more detailed examination has recently been made in connection with the present history (though not at my instance) by an obstetric physician of high standing, and I am indebted to his kindness for the following notes:—

"Anatomically Miss M. is very near being a normal woman. Her pelvic measurements are about normal, being:—

Bis-ant. superior spines.....	9½ inches.		
Bis-iliac crests	10½ inches.		
Bi-greater trochanteric	12 inches.		
External conjugate	7 inches.		
Height	5 feet 4 inches.		
Neck	{	Around its base.....	13½ inches.
Measurements		On level with cricoid cartilage.	11½ inches.
		About the larynx.....	11½ inches.

"*Sexual Organs.*—(a) Internal: Uterus and ovaries appear normal. (b) External: Small clitoris, with this irregularity, that the lower folds of the labia minora, instead of uniting one with the other and forming the frenum, are extended upward along the sides of the clitoris, while the upper folds are poorly developed, furnishing the clitoris with a very scant hood. The labia majora depart from normal conformation in being fuller in their posterior half than in their anterior part, so that when the subject is in the supine position they sag, as it were, presenting a slight resemblance to fleshy sacs, but in substance and structure they feel normal.

"The deviations mentioned are all I am able to note from the strictly normal form and shape of these organs.

"The general conformation of the body is feminine. But with arms, palms up, extended in front of her with inner sides of hands touching, she cannot bring the inner sides of forearms together, as nearly every woman can, showing that the feminine angle of arm is lost. The breasts are of fair size, and the nipples readily respond to titillation. Titillation of the sexual organs receives no response at all. [This does not show that the sexual sense is lost, but proves the absence of any habits of excessive sexual excitement leading to sexual hyperesthesia.] I am persuaded, however, that Miss M. possesses the sexual sense to a very marked degree."

She is left-handed and shows a better development throughout on the left side. She is quiet and dignified, but has many boyish tricks of manner and speech which seem to be instinctive; she tries to watch herself continually, however, in order to avoid them, affecting feminine ways and feminine interests, but always being conscious of an effort in so doing.

Miss M. can see nothing wrong in her feelings; and, until, a year ago, she came across the translation of Krafft-Ebing's book, she had no idea "that feelings like mine were 'under the ban of society' as he puts it, or were considered unnatural and depraved." She would like to help to bring light on the subject and to lift the shadow from other lives.

CASE XLI.—Miss B., aged 26. Among her brothers and sisters, one is of neurotic temperament and another is inverted. She is herself perfectly healthy. She has no repugnance to men, and would even like to try marriage, if the union were not permanent, but, except in one instance, she has never felt any sexual attraction to a man. In this exceptional instance she soon realized that she was not adapted for heterosexual relationships, and broke off the engagement she had formed.

She is attracted to women of various kinds, though she recognizes that there are some women to whom only men are attracted. Some years since she had a friend to whom she was very strongly attached, but the physical manifestations do not appear to have become very pronounced. Since then her thoughts have been much occupied by several women to whom she has made advances, which have not been encouraged to pass beyond ordinary friendship. In one case, however, she has formed an intimate relationship with a girl somewhat younger than herself, and a very feminine personality, who accepts Miss B.'s ardent love with pleasure, but in a passive manner, and who does not consider that the relationship would stand in the way of her marrying, though she would on no account tell her husband. The relationship has for the first time aroused Miss B.'s latent sexual emotions. She seems to find sexual satisfaction in kissing and embracing her friend's body, but there appears to be no orgasm. This relationship has made a considerable change in her, and rendered her radiant and happy. In her behavior toward men Miss B. reveals no sexual shyness. Men are not usually attracted to her.

There is nothing striking in her appearance; her person and manners, though careless, are not conspicuously man-like. She is fond of exercise, smokes a good deal, and has artistic tastes.

In the next case the inversion is more fully developed:—

CASE XLII.—Miss H., aged 30. Among her paternal relatives there is a tendency to eccentricity and to nervous disease. Her grandfather drank; her father was eccentric and hypochondriacal, and suffered from

obsessions. Her mother and mother's relatives are entirely healthy, and normal in disposition.

At the age of 4 she liked to see the nates of a little girl who lived near. When she was about six the nurse-maid, sitting in the fields, used to play with her own parts, and told her to do likewise, saying it would make a baby come; she occasionally touched herself in consequence, but without producing any effect of any kind. When she was about 8 she used to see various nurse-maids uncover their children's sexual parts and show them to each other. She used to think about this when alone, and also about whipping. She never cared to play with dolls, and in her games always took the part of a man. Her first rudimentary sex-feelings appeared at the age of 8 or 9, and were associated with dreams of whipping and being whipped, which were most vivid between the ages of 11 and 14, when they died away on the appearance of affection for girls. She menstruated at 12.

Her earliest affection, at the age of 13, was for a schoolfellow, a graceful, coquettish girl with long golden hair and blue eyes. Her affection displayed itself in performing all sorts of small services for this girl, in constantly thinking about her, and in feeling deliciously grateful for the smallest return. At the age of 14 she had a similar passion for a cousin; she used to look forward with ecstasy to her visits, and especially to the rare occasions when the cousin slept with her; her excitement was then so great that she could not sleep, but there was no conscious sexual excitement. At the age of 15 or 16 she fell in love with another cousin; her experiences with this girl were full of delicious sensations; if the cousin only touched her neck, a thrill went through her body which she now regards as sexual. Again, at 17, she had an overwhelming, passionate fascination for a schoolfellow, a pretty, commonplace girl, whom she idealized and etherealized to an extravagant extent. This passion was so violent that her health was, to some extent, impaired; but it was purely unselfish, and there was nothing sexual in it. On leaving school at the age of 19 she met a girl of about the same age as herself, very womanly, but not much attracted to men. This girl became very much attached to her, and sought to gain her love. After some time Miss H. was attracted by this love, partly from the sense of power it gave her, and an intimate relation grew up. This relation became vaguely physical, Miss H. taking the initiative, but her friend desiring such relations and taking extreme pleasure in them; they used to touch and kiss each other tenderly (especially on the *mons veneris*), with equal ardor. They each experienced a strong pleasurable feeling in doing this, and sexual erethism, but no orgasm, and it does not appear that this ever occurred. Their general behavior to each other was that of lovers, but they endeavored, as far as possible, to hide this fact from the world. This relation lasted for several years, and would have continued, had not

Miss H.'s friend, from religious and moral scruples, put an end to the physical relationship. Miss H. had been very well and happy during this relationship; this interference with it seems to have exerted a disturbing influence, and also to have aroused her sexual desires, though she was still scarcely conscious of their real nature. Soon afterward another girl of voluptuous type made love to Miss H., to which the latter yielded, giving way to her feelings as well as to her love of domination. She was afterward ashamed of this episode, though the physical element in it had remained vague and indefinite. Her remorse was so great that when her friend, repenting her scruples, implored her to let their relationship be on the same footing as of old, Miss H., in her turn, resisted every effort to restore the physical relation. She kept to this resolution for some years, and sought to divert her thoughts into intellectual channels. When she again formed an intimate relationship it was with a congenial friend, and lasted for several years.

She has never masturbated. Occasionally, but very rarely, she has had dreams of riding accompanied by pleasurable sexual emotion (she cannot recall any actual experience to suggest this, though fond of riding). She has never had any kind of sexual dreams about a man; of late years she has occasionally had erotic dreams about women.

Her feeling toward men is not in the slightest degree sexual, and she has never had the slightest attraction toward a man. She likes them as good comrades, as men like each other. She much enjoys the society of men, but simply on account of their intellectual attraction. Her feeling toward marriage has always been one of absolute repugnance. She can, however, imagine a man whom she could love or marry.

She is attracted to womanly women, sincere, reserved, pure, but courageous in character. She is not attracted to intellectual women, but at the same time cannot endure silly women. The physical qualities that attract her most are not so much beauty of face as graceful, but not too slender, a body with beautiful curves. The women she is drawn to are usually somewhat younger than herself. Women are much attracted to her, and without any effort on her part. She likes to take the active and protecting rôle with them. She is herself energetic in character, and with a somewhat neurotic temperament.

She finds sexual satisfaction in tenderly touching, caressing, and kissing the loved one's body. (There is no *cunnilingus*, which she regards with abhorrence.) She feels more tenderness than passion. There is a high degree of sexual erethism when kissing, but orgasm is rare and is produced by lying on the friend or by the friend lying on her, without any special contact. She likes being herself kissed, but not so much as taking the active part.

She believes that homosexual love is morally right when it is really part of a person's nature, and provided that the nature of homosexual

love is always made plain to the object of such affection. She does not approve of it as a mere makeshift, or expression of sensuality, in normal women. She has sometimes resisted the sexual expression of her feelings, once for years at a time, but always in vain. The effect on her of loving women is distinctly good, she asserts, both spiritually and physically, while repression leads to morbidity and hysteria. She has suffered much from neurasthenia at various periods, but under appropriate treatment it has slowly diminished. The inverted instinct is too deeply rooted to eradicate, but it is well under control.¹

The chief characteristic of the sexually inverted woman is a certain degree of masculinity. As I have already pointed out, a woman who is inclined to adopt the ways and garments of men is by no means necessarily inverted. In the volume of *Women Adventurers*, edited by Mrs. Norman for the *Adventure Series*, there is no trace of inversion; in most of these cases, indeed, love for a man was precisely the motive for adopting male garments and manners. Again, Colley Cibber's daughter, Charlotte Charke, a boyish and vivacious woman, who spent much of her life in men's clothes, and ultimately wrote a lively volume of memoirs, appears never to have been attracted to women, though women were often attracted to her, believing her to be a man; it is, indeed, noteworthy that women seem, with special frequency, to fall in love with disguised persons of their own sex.² There is, however, a very pronounced tendency among

¹ The most completely recorded case of sexual inversion in a woman is that of the Hungarian Countess Sarolta V., whose false marriage with a young woman attracted much notice in the papers a few years ago. I regard this case as in most respects so typical (excepting only as regards the fraud which led to its publicity) that I have summarized it rather fully in Appendix E, basing my account chiefly on the very full medico-legal report of the case published a few years ago by Dr. C. Birnbacher in Friedreich's *Blätter für gerichtliche Medicin*.

² A very interesting example of a woman with an irresistible impulse to adopt men's clothing and lead a man's life, but who did not, so far as is known, possess any sexual impulses, is that of Mary Frith, commonly called Moll Cutpurse, who lived in London at the beginning of the seventeenth century. *The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith* appeared in 1662; Middleton and Rowley also made her the heroine of their delightful comedy, *The Roaring Girl* (*Mermaid Series, Middleton's Plays*, volume ii), somewhat idealizing her, however. She seems to have belonged to a neurotic and eccentric stock; "each of the family," her biographer says, "had his particular freak." As a child, she only cared

sexually inverted women to adopt male attire when practicable. In such cases male garments are not usually regarded as desirable chiefly on account of practical convenience, nor even in order to make an impression on other women, but because the wearer feels more at home in them. Thus, Moll mentions the case of a young governess of sixteen who, while still unconscious of her sexual perversion, used to find pleasure, when everyone was out of the house, in putting on the clothes of a youth belonging to the family.

A few cases have been recorded of inverted women who have spent the greater part of their lives in men's clothing and been generally regarded as men. I may cite the case of Lucy Ann Slater, *alias* the Rev. Joseph Lobdell, recorded by Dr. Wise (*Alienist and Neurologist*, 1883). She was masculine in character, features, and attire. In early life she married and had a child, but had no affection for her husband, who eventually left her. As usual in such cases, her masculine habits appeared in early childhood. She was expert with the rifle, lived the life of a trapper and hunter among the Indians, and was known as the "Female Hunter of Long Eddy." She published a book regarding those experiences. I have not been able to see it, but it is said to be quaint and well written. She regarded herself as practically a man, and became attached to a young woman of good education, who had also been deserted by her husband. The affection was strong and emotional, and, of course, without deception. It was interrupted by her recognition and imprisonment as a vagabond, but on the petition of her "wife" she was released. "I may be a woman in one sense," she said, "but I have peculiar organs which make me more a man than a woman." She alluded to an enlarged clitoris which she could erect, she said, as a turtle protrudes its head, but there was no question of its use in coitus. She was ultimately brought to the asylum with paroxysmal attacks of exaltation and

for boys' games, and could never adapt herself to any woman's avocations. "She had a natural abhorrence to the tending of children." Her disposition was altogether masculine; "she was not for mincing obscenity, but would talk freely, whatever came uppermost." She never had any children, and was not taxed with debauchery: "No man can say or affirm that ever she had a sweetheart or any such fond thing to dally with her"; a mastiff was the only living thing she cared for. Her life was not altogether honest, but not so much from any organic tendency to crime, it seems, as because her abnormal nature and restlessness made her an outcast. She was too fond of drink, and is said to have been the first woman who smoked tobacco. Nothing is said or suggested of any homosexual practices, but we see clearly here what may be termed the homosexual diathesis. Another and more distinguished instance was Sir James Barry.

erotomania (without self-abuse apparently) and corresponding periods of depression, and she died with progressive dementia. I may also mention the case (briefly recorded in the *Lancet*, February 22, 1884) of a person called John Coulter, who was employed for twelve years as a laborer by the Belfast Harbor Commissioners. When death resulted from injuries caused in falling down stairs, it was found that this person was a woman. She was fifty years of age, and had apparently spent the greater part of her life as a man. When employed in early life as a man-servant on a farm, she had married her mistress's daughter. The pair were married for twenty-nine years, but during the last six years lived apart, owing to the "husband's" dissipated habits. No one ever suspected her sex. She was of masculine appearance and good muscular development. The "wife" took charge of the body and buried it.

A more recent case of the same kind is that of "Murray Hall," who died in New York in 1901. Her real name was Mary Anderson, and she was born at Govan, in Scotland. Early left an orphan, on the death of her only brother she put on his clothes and went to Edinburgh, working as a man. Her secret was discovered during an illness, and she finally went to America, where she lived as a man for thirty years, making money, and becoming somewhat notorious as a Tammany politician, a rather riotous "man about town." The secret was not discovered till her death, when it was a complete revelation, even to her adopted daughter. She married twice; the first marriage ended in separation, but the second marriage seemed to have been happy, for it lasted twenty years, when the "wife" died. She associated much with pretty girls, and was very jealous of them. She seems to have been slight and not very masculine in general build, with a squeaky voice, but her ways, attitude, and habits were all essentially masculine. She associated with politicians, drank somewhat to excess, though not heavily, swore a great deal, smoked and chewed tobacco, sang ribald songs; could run, dance, and fight like a man, and had divested herself of every trace of feminine daintiness. She wore clothes that were always rather too large in order to hide her form, baggy trousers, and an overcoat even in summer. She is said to have died of cancer of the breast. (I quote from an account, which appears to be reliable, contained in the *Weekly Scotsman*, February 9, 1901.)

Another case, which has recently been described in the London papers, is that of Catherine Coome, who for forty years successfully personated a man and adopted masculine habits generally. She married a lady's maid, with whom she lived for fourteen years. Having latterly adopted a life of fraud, her case gained publicity as that of the "man-woman."

When they still retain female garments, these usually show some traits of masculine simplicity, and there is nearly always a

disdain for the petty feminine artifices of the toilet. Even when this is not obvious, there are all sorts of instinctive gestures and habits which may suggest to female acquaintances the remark that such a person "ought to have been a man." The brusque, energetic movements, the attitude of the arms, the direct speech, the inflexions of the voice, the masculine straightforwardness and sense of honor, and especially the attitude toward men, free from any suggestion either of shyness or audacity, will often suggest the underlying psychic abnormality to a keen observer.

The following summary description (which Moll quotes from a French book entitled *Lucienne: Dialogues des Courtisanes*, 1892) very well indicates the general preferences of inverted women in the matter of dress: "Quant à Marianne, elle, toujours son smoking, gris le jour, noir le soir, feutre mou avec une plume . . . chemise d'homme à plis, col droit, cravate anglaise . . . et à la boutonnière une touffe d'œuillets blancs. . . . Et vous savez qu'elle ne met jamais de jupons; mais simplement une culotte en peau sous sa robe."

As regards the general bearing of the inverted woman, in its most marked and undisguised form, I may quote an admirable description by Prof. Zuccarelli, of Naples, of an unmarried middle-class woman of 35: "While retaining feminine garments, her bearing is as nearly as possible a man's. She wears her thin hair thrown carelessly back *alla Umberto*, and fastened in a simple knot at the back of her head. The breasts are little developed, and compressed beneath a high corset; her gown is narrow without the expansion demanded by fashion. Her straw hat with broad plait is perhaps adorned by a feather or she wears a small hat like a boy's. She does not carry an umbrella or sunshade, and walks out alone, refusing the company of men; or is accompanied by a woman, as she prefers, offering her arm and carrying the other hand at her waist, with the air of a fine gentleman. In a carriage her bearing is peculiar and unlike that habitual with women. Seated in the middle of the double seat, her knees being crossed or else the legs well separated, with a virile air and careless easy movement she turns her head in every direction, finding an acquaintance here and there with her eye, saluting men and women with a large gesture of the hand as a business man would. In conversation her pose is similar; she gesticulates much, is vivacious in speech, with much power of mimicry, and while talking she arches the inner angles of her eyebrow, making vertical wrinkles at the center of her forehead. Her laugh is open and explosive and uncovers her white rows of teeth. With men she is on terms of careless equality." ("Inver-

sione congenita dell'istinto sessuale in una donna," *L'Anomalo*, February, 1889.)

Although there is sometimes a certain general coarseness of physical texture, we do not find any trace of a beard or moustache,¹ and it is a mistake to suppose that bearded women approach the masculine type. It is probable, however, that there are more genuine approximations to the masculine type. The muscles are everywhere firm, with a comparative absence of soft connective tissue; so that an inverted woman may give an unfeminine impression to the sense of touch. Not only is the tone of the voice often different, but there is reason to suppose that this rests on a basis of anatomical modification. At Moll's suggestion, Flatau examined the larynx in a large number of inverted women, and found in several a very decidedly masculine type of larynx, or an approach to it, especially in cases of distinctly congenital origin. In the habits not only is there frequently a pronounced taste for smoking cigarettes often found in quite feminine women, but also a decided taste and toleration for cigars. There is also a dislike and sometimes incapacity for needle-work and other domestic occupations, while there is often some capacity for athletics. No masculine character is usually to be found in the sexual organs, which are sometimes undeveloped. Notwithstanding these characters, however, sexual inversion in a woman is, as a rule, not more obvious than in a man. At the same time, the inverted woman is not usually attractive to men. She herself generally feels the greatest indifference to men, and often cannot understand why a woman should love a man, though she easily understands why a man should love a woman. She shows, therefore, nothing of that sexual shyness and engaging air of weakness and dependence which are an invitation to men. The man who is passionately attracted to an inverted woman is usually of rather a feminine

¹ See Max Bartels's elaborate study, "Ueber abnormal Behaarung beim Menschen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, B. 13, 1881, p. 219. And for the same condition in insanity, L. Harris-Liston, "Cases of Bearded Women," *British Medical Journal*, June 2, 1894.

type. For instance, in one case present to my mind he was of somewhat neurotic heredity, of slight *physique*, not sexually attractive to women, and very domesticated in his manner of living; in short, a man who might easily have been passionately attracted to his own sex.

While the inverted woman is cold, or, at most, comradely, in her bearing toward men, she may become shy and confused in the presence of attractive persons of her own sex, even unable to undress in their presence, and full of tender ardor for the woman whom she loves.

The passion finds expression in sleeping together, kissing, and close embraces, with more or less sexual excitement, the orgasm sometimes occurring when one lies on the other's body or else in mutual masturbation; the extreme gratification is *cunnilingus* (*in lambendo linguâ genitalia alterius*), sometimes called sapphism. There is no connection, as was once supposed, between sexual inversion in women and an enlarged clitoris, which has very seldom been found in such cases, and never, so far as I am aware, to an extent that would permit of its use in coitus with another woman.¹

While the methods mentioned are certainly those by which inverted women most usually attain sexual satisfaction in their relationships, it must at the same time be added that the various phenomena of sadism, masochism, and fetichism which are liable to arise, spontaneously or by suggestion, in the relationships of normal lovers, as well as of male invert, may also arise in the same way among inverted women, though, probably, not often in a very pronounced form. Moll, however, narrates a case (*Konträre Sexualempfindung*, 1899, pp. 565-70) in which various minor, but very definite, perversions were combined with inversion, and on this account it may be of interest to refer to it briefly. The case was that of a young lady of 26, of good heredity, who from the age of 6 had only been attracted to her own sex, and even in childhood had practiced mutual *cunnilingus*. She is extremely intelligent, and of generous and good-natured disposition, with various masculine tastes, but, on the whole, of feminine build and with completely feminine larynx. During the

¹ Kiernan, however, refers to a case occurring in America, in which a sexual invert, married and a mother, possessed a clitoris which measured two and a half inches when erect.

past seven years she has lived exclusively with one woman. She is able to find complete satisfaction in active *cunnilingus*, but prefers simultaneous mutual *cunnilingus*. In addition, however, during the course of this relationship various other methods of excitement and gratification have arisen,—it seems, for the most part, spontaneously. It gives her much pleasure *urinam feminae dilectae in os proprium immittire*; this appears sometimes to occur as an episode in the course of fairly normal sexual relationships, but in this case the subject similarly found sexual gratification when defecation also was effected in the same way, a very exceptional perversion. In addition to these and similar practices the subject liked being bitten, especially in the lobule of the ear, and she was highly excited when whipped by her friend, who should, if possible, be naked at the time; only the nates must be whipped and only a birch rod be used, or the effect would not be obtained. She says that these practices would not be possible to her in the absence of extreme intimacy and mutual understanding, and they have only taken place with the one friend. In this case the perverse phenomena, according to Krafft-Ebing's distinction, were masochistic rather than sadistic. Moll mentions, however, that he is acquainted with many homosexual women who have sadistic tendencies in a more or less mild degree.

The inverted woman is an enthusiastic admirer of feminine beauty, especially of the statuesque beauty of the body, unlike, in this, the normal woman, whose sexual emotion is but faintly tinged by esthetic feeling. In her sexual habits we rarely find the degree of promiscuity which is not uncommon among inverted men. I am inclined to agree with Moll, that homosexual women love more faithfully and lastingly than homosexual men.¹ Sexually inverted women are not rarely married; Moll, from various confidences which he has received, believes that inverted women have not the same horror of normal coitus as inverted men; this is probably due to the fact that the women under such circumstances can retain a certain passivity. In other cases there

¹ It is noteworthy how many inverted women have, with more or less fraud, been married to the woman of their choice, the couple living happily together for long periods. I know of one case, probably unique, in which the ceremony was gone through without any deception on any side: a congenitally inverted Englishwoman of distinguished intellectual ability, now dead, was attached to the wife of a clergyman, who, in full cognizance of all the facts of the case, privately married the two ladies in his own church.

is some degree of psychosexual hermaphroditism, although, as among inverted men, the homosexual instinct seems usually to give the greater relief and gratification.

It has been stated by many observers who are able to speak with some authority—in America, in France, in Germany, and in England—that homosexuality is increasing among women.¹ It seems probable that this is true. There are many influences in our civilization to-day which encourage such manifestations. The modern movement of emancipation—the movement to obtain the same rights and duties, the same freedom and responsibility, the same education and the same work—must be regarded as, on the whole, a wholesome and inevitable movement. But it carries with it certain disadvantages. It has involved an increase in feminine criminality and in feminine insanity, which are being elevated toward the masculine standard. In connection with these we can scarcely be surprised to find an increase in homosexuality, which has always been regarded as belonging to an allied, if not the same, group of phenomena. Women are, very justly, coming to look upon knowledge and experience generally as their right as much as their brothers' right. But when this doctrine is applied to the sexual sphere it finds certain limitations. Intimacies of any kind between young men and young women are as much discouraged socially now as ever they were; as regards higher education, the mere association of the sexes in the lecture-room or the laboratory or the hospital is discouraged

¹ There are few traces of homosexuality among women in English social history. In Charles II's court, the *Mémoires de Grammont* tell us (as Dr. Kiernan has reminded me), that Miss Hobart was credited with Lesbian tendencies: "Mademoiselle Hobart était d'un caractère aussi nouveau pour lors en Angleterre que sa figure paraissait singulière dans un pays où, d'être jeune, et de n'être pas plus ou moins belle, est un reproche. Elle avait de la taille, quelque chose de fort délibéré dans l'air, beaucoup d'esprit, et cet esprit était fort orné sans être fort discret. Elle avait beaucoup de vivacité dans une imagination peu réglée, et beaucoup de feu dans des yeux peu touchants. . . . Bientôt le bruit véritable ou faux de cette singularité se répandit dans le cour. On y était assez grossier pour n'avoir jamais entendu parler de ce raffinement de l'ancienne Grèce sur les goûts de la tendresse, et l'on se mit en tête que l'illustre Hobart, qui paraissait si tendre pour les belles, était quelque chose de plus de ce qu'elle paraissait." The passage is interesting because it shows us how rare was the exception.

in England and in America. Marriage is decaying, and, while men are allowed freedom, the sexual field of women is becoming restricted to trivial flirtation with the opposite sex, and to intimacy with their own sex; having been taught independence of men and disdain for the old theory which placed women in the moated grange of the home to sigh for a man who never comes, a tendency develops for women to carry this independence still further and to find love where they find work. I do not say that these unquestionable influences of modern movements can directly cause sexual inversion, though they may indirectly, in so far as they promote hereditary neurosis; but they develop the germs of it, and they probably cause a spurious imitation. This spurious imitation is due to the fact that the congenital anomaly occurs with special frequency in women of high intelligence who, voluntarily or involuntarily, influence others.

The frequency of homosexual practices among prostitutes is a fact of some interest, and calls for special explanation, for, at the first glance, it seems in opposition to all that we know concerning the exciting causes of homosexuality. Regarding the fact there can be no question.¹ It has been noted by all who are acquainted with the lives of prostitutes, though opinion may differ as to its frequency; at Berlin, Moll was told in well-informed quarters, the proportion of prostitutes with Lesbian tendencies is about 25 per cent. This was precisely the proportion at Paris many years ago, according to Parent-Duchatelet, who investigated the matter minutely; to-day, according to Chevalier, it is larger; and Bourneville believes that 75 per cent. of the inmates of the Parisian venereal hospitals have practiced homosexuality. In London, so far as my inquiries extend, homosexuality among prostitutes is very much less prevalent, and in a well-marked form is confined to a comparatively small section.

I am indebted to a friend for the following note: "From my experience of the Parisian prostitute, I gather that Lesbianism in Paris is extremely prevalent; indeed, one might almost

¹ Even among Arab prostitutes it is found, according to Kocher though among Arab women generally it is rare.

say normal. In particular, most of the chahut-dancers of the Moulin-Rouge, Casino de Paris, and the other public balls are notorious for going in couples, and, for the most part, they prefer not to be separated, even in their most professional moments with the other sex. In London the thing is, naturally, much less obvious, and, I think, much less prevalent; but it is certainly not infrequent. A certain number of well-known prostitutes are known for their tendencies in this direction, which do not, however, interfere in any marked way with the ordinary details of their profession. I do not personally know of a single prostitute who is exclusively Lesbian; I have heard vaguely that there are one or two such anomalies. But I have heard a swell *cocotte* at the Corinthian announce to the whole room that she was going home with a girl; and no one doubted the statement. Her name, indeed, was generally coupled with that of a fifth-rate actress. Another woman of the same kind has a little clientèle of women who buy her photographs in Burlington Arcade. In the lower ranks of the profession all this is much less common. One often finds women who have simply never heard of such a thing; they know of it in regard to men, but not in regard to women. And they are, for the most part, quite horrified at the notion, which they consider part and parcel of 'French beastliness.' Of course, almost every girl has her friend, and, when not separately occupied, they often sleep together; but, while in separate, rare cases, this undoubtedly means all that it can mean, for the most part, so far as one can judge, it means no more than it would mean among ordinary girls."

It is evident that there must be some radical causes for the frequency of homosexuality among prostitutes. One such cause doubtless lies in the character of the prostitute's relations with men; these relations are of a professional character, and, as the business element becomes emphasized, the possibility of sexual satisfaction diminishes; at the best, also, there lacks the sense of social equality, the feeling of possession, and scope for the exercise of feminine affection and devotion. These the prostitute must usually be forced to find either in a "bully" or in another woman. It is interesting, in this connection, to recall the com-

parative frequency with which, in men, a love-disappointment with a woman serves to develop a homosexual tendency. Apart from this it must be borne in mind that, in a very large number of cases, the prostitute shows in slight or more marked degree many of the signs of neurotic heredity, of physical and mental "degeneration"; so that it is almost possible to look upon prostitutes as a special human variety analogous to instinctive criminals.¹ The irregular life of the prostitute, the undue amount of sexual irritation, and indulgence in alcohol still further emphasize this unbalancing influence; and so we have an undue tendency to homosexuality, just as we have it among criminals, and, to a much less extent, among persons of genius and intellect.

As the three following chapters relate, for the most part, equally to men and to women, I have not in the present chapter discussed those aspects of inversion which are common to both sexes. But I have pleasure in recording here the opinions of Dr. K., a woman physician in the United States, more especially since they substantially accord with my own independent results. Referring to her special investigations of sexual inversion in women, she writes: "I have always maintained that this phenomenon, wherever found, indicates a psychic condition which can be properly governed, but cannot be eradicated. I believe that it is a condition due to prenatal influences, possibly to defective nutrition in intra-uterine life, if the cause is not still more remote. It is unmistakably a sign of degeneration in the race. Also it is my firm belief that the affections, nervous and other, to which this condition sometimes leads, come as a result of the condition, or of the vices which sometimes accompany it. But such effects are not an inevitable result. Of the eight cases which I have reported to you, seven are perfectly sound, physically, and four are remarkable for their intellectual qualities. . . . As to the value of suggestion, I must confess that the experiments along this line which I have witnessed were not of a nature to arouse any enthusiasm. In all such cases I would recommend that the moral sense be trained and

¹ This point of view has been specially emphasized by Lombroso and his followers; see Lombroso and Ferrero, *La Donna Delinquente*. Apart from this, these authors regard homosexuality among prostitutes as due to the following causes (pp. 410 *et seq.*): (a) excessive and often unnatural venery; (b) confinement in a prison, with separation from men; (c) close association with the same sex, such as is common in brothels; (d) maturity and old age, inverting the secondary sexual characters and predisposing to sexual inversion; (e) disgust of men produced by a prostitute's profession, combined with the longing for love.

fostered, and the persons allowed to keep their individuality, being taught to remember always that they are different from others, and that they must not infringe upon the happiness or rights of others, rather sacrificing their own feelings or happiness when necessary. It is good discipline for them, and will serve in the long run to bring them more favor and affection than any other course. This quality or idiosyncrasy is not essentially evil, but, if rightly used, may prove a blessing to others and a power for good in the life of the individual, nor does it reflect any discredit upon its possessor."

CHAPTER V.

THE NATURE OF SEXUAL INVERSION.

Analysis of Histories — Race — Heredity — General Health — First Appearance of Homosexual Impulse—Sexual Precocity and Hyperesthesia —Suggestion and Other Exciting Causes of Inversion—Masturbation—Attitude Toward Women—Erotic Dreams—Methods of Sexual Relationship—Pseudo-sexual Attraction—Physical Sexual Abnormalities—Artistic and Other Aptitudes—Moral Attitude of the Invert.

BEFORE stating briefly my own conclusions as to the nature of sexual inversion, I propose to analyze the facts brought out in the histories which I have been able to study.¹

RACE.—All my cases, 49 in number, are British and American. Ancestry, from the point of view of race, was not made a matter of special investigation. It appears, however, that at least 29 are English or mainly English; at least 5 are Scotch or of Scotch extraction; 1 is Irish and 2 others largely Irish; 4 have German fathers or mothers; another is of German descent on both sides, while another is of remote German extraction; 2 are partly French. Except the presence of the German element, there is nothing remarkable in this ancestry. I am inclined to think that the presence of the German element is not accidental. Apart from the fact that the study of inversion has been mainly carried on in Germany, we may bear in mind the fact, well brought out in Raffalovich's interesting discussion of "German friendship," that there is a marked tendency for German friendship to assume a sexually emotional warmth.

HEREDITY.—It is always difficult to deal securely with the significance of heredity, or even to establish a definite basis of facts. I have by no means escaped this difficulty, for in most cases I have not even had an opportunity of cross-examining the

¹ The following analysis is based on somewhat fuller versions of my histories than it was necessary to publish in the preceding chapters, as well as on various other histories which I was unable to publish at all. Numerous apparent discrepancies may thus be explained.

subjects whose histories I have obtained. Still, the facts, so far as they emerge, have some interest. I possess some record of heredity in 41 of my cases. Of these, not less than 14 assert that they have reason to believe that other cases of inversion have occurred in their families, and, while in some it is only a strong suspicion, in others there is no doubt whatever.¹ In one case there is reason to suspect inversion on both sides. Eighteen, so far as can be ascertained, belong to reasonably healthy families; minute investigation would probably reduce the number of these, and it is noteworthy that even in some of the healthy families there was only one child born of the parents' marriage. In 17 cases there is more or less frequency of morbidity or abnormality—eccentricity, alcoholism, neurasthenia, or nervous disease—in one or both sides, in addition to inversion or apart from it. In some of these cases the inverted offspring is the outcome of the union of a very healthy with a thoroughly morbid stock; in some others there is a minor degree of abnormality on both sides.

I do not attach great importance to these results. I am fairly certain that thorough investigation would very considerably enlarge the proportion of cases with morbid heredity. At the same time this enlargement would be chiefly obtained by bringing minor abnormalities to the front, and it would then have to be shown how far the families of average or normal persons are free from such abnormalities. The apologist of sexual inversion asks: What family is free from neuropathic taint? At present it is difficult to answer this question precisely. I believe that a fairly large proportion of families are free from such taint, but it seems probable that the families to which the inverted belong do not usually present such profound signs of nervous degeneration as we were formerly led to suppose. What we

¹ This hereditary character of inversion is a fact of great significance, and, as it occurs in cases with which I am well acquainted, I can have no doubt concerning the existence of the tendency. The influence of suggestion may often be entirely excluded, especially when the persons are of different sex. Both Krafft-Ebing and Moll have noted a similar tendency; see, e.g., Moll, *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, 1899, p. 364.

vaguely call "eccentricity" is common among them; insanity is much rarer.

GENERAL HEALTH.—It is possible to speak with more certainty of the health of the individual than of that of his family. Of the 49 cases, 31—or about two-thirds—may be said to enjoy good, and sometimes even very good, health, though occasionally there is some slight qualification to be made. In 14 cases the health is delicate, or at best only fair; in these cases there is sometimes a tendency to consumption, and often marked neurasthenia and a more or less unbalanced temperament. Three cases (Nos. II, III, XXXV) are morbid to a considerable degree; the remaining case (XXX) has had insane delusions which required treatment in an asylum. At least 13, who are included among those as having either good or fair health, may be described as of extremely nervous temperament, and in most cases they so describe themselves; a certain proportion of these—at least 7—combine great physical and, especially, mental energy with this nervousness; all these are doubtless of neurotic temperament. Only 2 or 3 of the cases can be said to be conspicuously lacking in energy. On the whole, therefore, a very large proportion of these inverted individuals are passing through life in an unimpaired state of health, which enables them to do at least their fair share of work in the world; in a very considerable proportion of my cases that work is of high intellectual value. Only in 4 cases, it will be seen, or at most 5, can the general health be said to be distinctly bad.

This result may, perhaps, seem surprising. It must, however, be remembered that my cases do not, on the whole, represent the class which alone the physician is usually able to bring forward: *i.e.*, the sexual inverts who are suffering from a more or less severe degree of complete nervous breakdown.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF HOMOSEXUAL INSTINCT.—Out of 43 cases, in 4 the instinct veered round to the same sex in adult age; in 3 of these there had been a love-disappointment with a woman; no other cause than this can be assigned for the transition; but it is noteworthy that in at least 2 of these cases the sexual instinct is undeveloped or morbidly weak, while the third

individual is of somewhat weak *physique*, and the fourth has long been in delicate health. In another case (No. XXXV), also somewhat morbid, the development was rather more complicated.

In 39 cases the abnormal instinct began in early life, without previous attraction to the opposite sex. In 17 of these it dates from about puberty, usually beginning at school. In 24 cases the tendency began before puberty: *i.e.*, in 16 between the ages of 5 and 11, usually between 7 and 9, while in the other 8 the instinct began to manifest itself as early as the subject can remember. It must not be supposed that, in these numerous cases of the early appearance of homosexuality, the manifestations were of a specifically physical character, although erections are noted in a few cases. For the most part sexual manifestations at this early age, whether homosexual or heterosexual, are purely psychic. Their general character may be judged from 3 cases—two in men, the other in a woman (XIII, XXV, XLII)—in which I have stated the evolution of the instinct in some detail.¹

SEXUAL PRECOCITY AND HYPERESTHESIA.—It is a fact of considerable interest and significance that in so large a number of my cases there was distinct precocity of the sexual emotions, both on the physical and psychic sides. There can be little doubt that, as many previous observers have found, inversion tends strongly to be associated with sexual precocity. I think it may further be said that sexual precocity tends to encourage the inverted habit where it exists. Why this should be so is obvious, if we believe—as there is some reason for believing—that at an

¹ In this connection I may quote an observation by Mr. Raffalovich: "It is natural that the invert should very clearly recall the precocity of his inclinations. In the existence of every invert a moment arrives when he discovers the enigma of his homosexual tastes. He then classes all his recollections, and to justify himself in his own eyes he remembers that he has been what he is from his earliest childhood. Homosexuality has colored all his young life; he has thought over it, dreamed over it, reflected over it—very often in perfect innocence. When he was quite small he imagined that he had been carried off by brigands, by savages; at five or six he dreamed of the warmth of their chests and of their naked arms. He dreamed that he was their slave and he loved his slavery and his masters. He has had not the least thought that is crudely sexual, but he has discovered his sentimental vocation."

early age the sexual instinct is comparatively undifferentiated in its manifestations. The precocious accentuation of the sexual impulse leads to definite crystallization of the emotions at a premature stage. It must be added that precocious sexual energy is likely to remain feeble, and that a feeble sexual energy adapts itself more easily to homosexual relationships, in which there is no definite act to be accomplished, than to normal relationships. It is difficult to say how many of my cases exhibit sexual weakness. In 3 or 4 it is evident, and it may be suspected in many others, especially in those who are, and often describe themselves as, "sensitive" or "nervous." In some cases there is marked hyperesthesia, or irritable weakness. Hyperesthesia simulates strength, and, while there can be little doubt that some sexual inverts do possess unusual sexual energy, in others it is but apparent; the frequent repetition of seminal emissions, for example, may be the result of weakness as well as of strength.¹ It must be added that this irritability of the sexual centers is, in a considerable proportion of inverts, associated with marked emotional tendencies to affection and self-sacrifice. In the extravagance of his affection and devotion, as has been frequently observed, the male invert frequently resembles the normal woman.

SUGGESTION AND OTHER EXCITING CAUSES OF INVERSION.

—In 13 of my cases—*i.e.*, in about a quarter—there is reason to believe that some event, or special environment, in early life had more or less influence in turning the sexual instinct into homosexual channels, or in calling out a latent inversion. In 3 cases a disappointment in normal love seems to have produced a profound nervous and emotional shock, acting, as we seem bound to admit, on a predisposed organism, and developing a fairly permanent tendency to inversion. In 5 cases there was seduction by an older person, but in at least 1 or 2 of these there was already a well-marked predisposition. In 5 other cases, ex-

¹ A certain association between sexual weakness and homosexuality may be seen in the homosexual tendencies of old men, who no longer possess the power of effecting normal coitus.

ample, usually at school, may probably be regarded as having exerted some influence. It is noteworthy that in very few of my cases can we trace the influence of any definite "suggestion," as asserted by Schrenck-Notzing, who believes that, in the causation of sexual inversion (as undoubtedly in the causation of erotic fetichism), we must give the first place to "accidental factors of education and external influence." He records the case of a little boy who innocently gazed in curiosity at the penis of his father who was urinating, and had his ears boxed, whence arose a train of thought and feeling which resulted in complete sexual inversion. In the very detailed history of Case XXVI we have a parallel incident, and here we see clearly that the homosexual tendency already existed. I do not question the occurrence of such incidents, but I refuse to accept them as supplying the causation of inversion, and in so doing I am supported by all the evidence I am able to obtain. I am in agreement with a correspondent who wrote:—

"Considering that all boys are exposed to the same order of suggestions (sight of a man's naked organs, sleeping with a man, being handled by a man), and that only a few of them become sexually perverted, I think it reasonable to conclude that those few were previously constituted to receive the suggestion. In fact, suggestion seems to play exactly the same part in the normal and abnormal awakening of sex."

I would go so far as to assert that for normal boys and girls the developed sexual organs of the adult man or woman—from their size, hairiness, and the mystery which envelops them—nearly always exert a certain fascination, whether of attraction or horror.¹ But this has no connection with homosexuality, and scarcely with sexuality at all. Thus, in one case known to me, a boy of six or seven took pleasure in caressing the organs of another boy, twice his own age, who remained passive and indifferent; yet this child grew up without ever manifesting any

¹ Leppmann mentions the case (certainly extreme and abnormal) of a little girl of 8 who spent the night hidden on the roof, merely in order to be able to observe in the morning the sexual organs of an adult male cousin (*Bulletin de l'Union Internationale de Droit Pénal*, 1896, p. 118).

homosexual instinct. The seed of suggestion can only develop when it falls on a suitable soil. If it is to act on a fairly normal nature the perverted suggestion must be very powerful or iterated, and even then its influence will probably only be temporary, disappearing in the presence of the normal stimulus.¹

I have, therefore, but little to say of the influence of suggestion, which has sometimes been exalted to a position of the first importance in books on sexual inversion. This is not because I underestimate the great part played by suggestion in many fields of normal and abnormal life. It is because I have been able to find but few decided traces of it in sexual inversion. In many cases, doubtless, there may be some slight elements of suggestion in developing the inversion, though they cannot be traced.² Their importance seems usually questionable even when they are discovered. Take Schrenck-Notzing's case of the little boy whose ears were boxed for what his father considered im-

¹ I may add that I see no fundamental irreconcilability between the point of view here adopted and the facts brought forward (and wrongly interpreted) by Schrenck-Notzing. In his *Beitrag zur Aetiologie der Conträrer Sexualempfindung* (Vienna, 1895), this writer states: "The neuropathic disposition is congenital, as is the tendency to precocious appearance of the appetites, the lack of psychic resistance, and the tendency to imperative associations; but that heredity can extend to the object of the appetite, and influence the contents of these characters, is not shown. Psychological experiences are against it, and the possibility, which I have shown, of changing these impulses by experiment and so removing their danger to the character of the individual." It need not be asserted that "heredity extends to the object of the appetite," but simply that heredity culminates in an organism which is sexually best satisfied by that object. It is also a mistake to suppose that congenital characters cannot be, in some cases, largely modified by such patient and laborious processes as those carried on by Schrenck-Notzing. In the same pamphlet this writer refers to moral insanity and idiocy as supporting his point of view. It is curious that both these congenital manifestations had independently occurred to me as arguments against his position. The experiences of Elmira Reformatory and Bicêtre show that both the morally insane and the idiotic can be greatly improved by appropriate treatment. Schrenck-Notzing seems to be unduly biased by his interest in hypnotism and suggestion.

² I fully admit, as all investigators must, the difficulty of tracing the influence of early suggestions, especially in dealing with persons who are unaccustomed to self-analysis. Sometimes it happens, especially in regard to erotic fetichism, that, while direct questioning fails to reach any early formative suggestion, such influence is casually elicited on a subsequent occasion.

proper curiosity. I find it difficult to realize that a mighty suggestion can thereby be generated unless a strong emotion exists for it to unite with; in that case the seed falls on prepared soil. Is the wide prevalence of normal sexuality due to the fact that so many little boys have had their ears boxed for taking naughty liberties with women? If so, I am quite prepared to accept Schrenck-Notzing's explanation as a complete account of the matter. I know of one case, indeed, in which an element of what may fairly be called suggestion can be detected. It is that of a physician who had always been on very friendly terms with men, but had sexual relations exclusively with women, finding fair satisfaction, until the confessions of an inverted patient one day came to him as a revelation; thereafter he adopted inverted practices and ceased to find any attraction in women. But even in this case, as I understand the matter, suggestion merely served to reveal his own nature to the man. For a physician to adopt the perverted habits which the visit of a chance patient suggests to him can scarcely be a phenomenon of pure suggestion. We have no reason to suppose that this physician practiced every perversion he heard of from patients; he adopted that which fitted his own nature.¹

I may here quote three American cases (not previously published), for which I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. G. Frank Lydston, of Chicago. They seem to me to illustrate the only kind of suggestion which does play a common part in the evolution of inversion. I give them in Dr. Lydston's words:—

CASE I.—A man, 45 years of age, attracted by the allusion to my essay on "Social Perversion" contained in the English translation of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, consulted me regarding the possible cure of his condition. This individual was a finely educated, very intelligent man, who was an excellent linguist, had considerable musical ability, and was in the employ of a firm whose business was such as to

¹ "If an invert acquires, under the influence of external conditions," Féré has lately written (*L'Instinct Sexuel*, p. 238), "it is because he was born with an aptitude for such acquisition: an aptitude lacking in those who have been subjected to the same conditions without making the same acquisitions."

demand on the part of its employees considerable legal acumen, clerical ability, and knowledge of real-estate transactions. This man stated that at the age of puberty, without any knowledge of perversity of sexual feeling, he was thrown intimately in contact with males of more advanced years, who took various means to excite his sexual passions, the result being that perverted sexual practices were developed, which were continued for a number of years. He thereafter noticed an aversion to women. At the solicitations of his family he finally married, without any very intelligent idea as to what, if anything, might be expected of him in the marital relation. Absolute impotence—indeed, repugnance for association with his wife—was the lamentable sequence. A divorce was in contemplation when, fortunately for all parties concerned, the wife suddenly died. Being a man of more than ordinary intelligence, this individual, prior to seeking my aid, had sought vainly for some remedy for his unfortunate condition. He stated that he believed that there was an element of heredity in his case, his father having been a dipsomaniac and one brother having died insane. He nevertheless stated it to be his opinion that, notwithstanding the hereditary taint, he would have been perfectly normal from a sexual stand-point had it not been for acquired impressions at or about the period of puberty. This man presented a typically neurotic type of *physique*, complained of being intensely nervous, was prematurely gray, of only fair stature, and had an uncontrollable nystagmus, which, he said, had existed for some fifteen years. As might be expected, treatment in this case was of no avail. I began the use of hypnotic suggestion at the hands of an expert professional hypnotist. The patient, being called out of the State, finally gave up treatment, and I have no means of knowing what his present condition is.

CASE II.—A lady patient of mine who happened to be an actress, and consequently a woman of the world, brought to me for an opinion some correspondence which had passed between her younger brother and a man living in another State, with whom he was on quite intimate terms. In one of these letters various flying trips to Chicago for the purpose of meeting the lad, who, by the way, was only seventeen years of age, were alluded to. It transpired also, as evidenced by the letters, that on several occasions the young lad had been taken on trips in Pullman cars by his friend, who was a prominent railroad official. The character of the correspondence was such as the average healthy man would address to a woman with whom he was enamored. It seemed that the author of the correspondence had applied to his boy affinity the name Cinderella, and the protestations of passionate affection that were made toward Cinderella certainly would have satisfied the most exacting woman. The young lad subsequently made a confession to me, and I put myself in correspondence with his male friend, with the result that he called upon me and I obtained a full history of the case. The method

of indulgence in this case was the usual one of oral masturbation, in which the lad was the passive party. I was unable to obtain any definite data regarding the family history of the elder individual in this case, but understand that there was a taint of insanity in his family. He himself was a robust, fine-looking man, above middle age, who was well educated and very intelligent, as he necessarily must have been, because of the prominent position he held with an important railway company. I will state, as a matter of interest, that the lad in this case, who is now twenty-three years of age, has recently consulted me for *impotentia coeundi*, manifesting a frigidity for women, and, from the young man's statements, I am convinced that he is well on the road to confirmed sexual perversion.

An interesting point in this connection is that the young man's sister, the actress already alluded to, has recently had an attack of acute mania.

I have had other unpublished cases that might be of interest, but these two are somewhat classical, and typify to a greater or less degree the majority of other cases. I will, however, mention one other case, occurring in a woman.

CASE III.—A married woman, 40 years of age. Has been deserted by her husband because of her perverted sexuality. Neurotic history on both sides of the family, and several cases of insanity on mother's side. In this case affinity for the same sex and perverted desire for the opposite sex existed, a combination by no means infrequent. Hypnotic suggestion tried, but without success. Cause was evidently suggestion and example on the part of another female pervert with whom she associated before marriage. Marriage was late, at age of 35.

In all these cases there was an element of what may be called suggestion, but it was really much more than this; it was probably in each case active seduction by an elder person of a predisposed younger person. It will be observed that in each case there was, at the least, an organic neurotic basis for suggestion and seduction to work on. I cannot regard these cases as entitled to modify the attitude I have here taken up.

MASTURBATION.—Moreau believed that masturbation was a cause of sexual inversion, and Krafft-Ebing looks upon it as leading to all sorts of sexual perversions; Dr. Conolly Norman is of the same opinion. Moll emphatically denies that masturbation can be the cause of inversion, though admitting that it may serve to strengthen it when already existing. I have myself made spe-

cial inquiries on this point, and am of the same opinion. That masturbation, especially at an early age, may enfeeble the sexual activities, and so predispose them to inversion, I certainly believe. But beyond this there is little in the history of my male cases to lead me to attach importance to masturbation as a cause of inversion. It is true that 25 out of 30 admit that they have practiced masturbation,—at all events, occasionally or at some period in their lives,—and it is probable that this proportion is larger than that found among normal people. Even if so, however, it is not difficult to account for, bearing in mind the fact that the homosexual person has not the same opportunities as has the heterosexual person to gratify his instincts, and that masturbation may sometimes legitimately appear to him as the lesser of two evils.¹ Not only has masturbation been practiced at no period in at least 5 of the cases (for concerning several I have no information), but in several others it was never practiced until long after the homosexual instinct had appeared, and then only occasionally. In 5 it was only practiced at puberty; in 5, however, it began before the age of puberty; 9 left off before about the age of twenty. Unfortunately, as yet, we have little definite evidence as to the prevalence and extent of masturbation among normal individuals.

Among the women masturbation is found in at least 3 cases out of 5. In one case there was no masturbation until comparatively late in life, and then only at rare intervals and under exceptional circumstances. In another case, some years after the homosexual attraction had been experienced, it was practiced, though not in excess, from the age of puberty for about four years, and then abandoned; during these years the physical sexual feelings were more imperative than they were afterward felt to be. In a third case masturbation was learned spontaneously

¹ One of my subjects writes: "Inverts are, I think, naturally more liable to indulge in self-gratification than normal people, partly because of the perpetual suppression and disappointment of their desires, and also because of the fact that they actually possess in themselves the desired form of the male. This idea is a little difficult of explanation, but you can readily imagine to what frenzies of self-abuse a normal man would be impelled supposing that he included in his own the form of the female."

soon after puberty, and practiced in excess before the manifestations of inversion became definite. In all these cases the subjects are emphatic in asserting that this practice neither led to, nor was caused by, the homosexual attraction, which they regard as a much higher feeling, and it must be added that the occasional practice of masturbation is very far from rare among fairly normal women.¹

While this is so, I am certainly inclined to believe that an early and somewhat excessive indulgence in masturbation, though not an adequate cause, is a favoring condition for the development of inversion, and that this is especially so in women. The sexual precocity indicated by early and excessive masturbation doubtless reveals an organism already predisposed to homosexuality. But, apart from this, when masturbation arises spontaneously at an early age on a purely physical basis it seems to tend to produce a divorce between the physical and the psychic aspects of sexual love. The sexual manifestations are all diverted into this material direction, and the child is ignorant that such phenomena are normally allied to love; then when a more spiritual attraction, probably to a person of the same sex, appears with adolescent development, this divorce is perpetuated. Instead of the physical and psychic feelings appearing together when the age for sexual attraction comes, the physical feelings are prematurely twisted from their natural end, and it becomes abnormally easy for a person of the same sex to step in and take the place rightfully belonging to a person of the opposite sex. This has certainly seemed to me the course of events in some cases I have observed.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE OPPOSITE SEX.—In 8 cases (of whom 2 are married and others purposing to marry) there is sexual attraction to both sexes, a condition usually called psychosexual hermaphroditism. In such cases, although there is pleasure and satisfaction in relationships with both sexes,

¹ I do not here enter upon the consideration of the normal prevalence and significance of masturbation and allied phenomena, as I have dealt with this subject in the study of "Auto-erotism," in volume ii of these *Studies*.

there is usually a greater degree of satisfaction in connection with one sex. Most of my psychosexual hermaphrodites prefer their own sex. It is curiously rare to find a person, whether man or woman, who by choice exercises relationships with both sexes and prefers the opposite sex. This would seem to indicate that psychosexual hermaphrodites are really simple inverts.

In any case psychosexual hermaphroditism merges imperceptibly into simple inversion. In 12 of 35 cases of simple inversion in men there has been connection with women, in some instances only once or twice, in others during several years, but it was always with an effort or from a sense of duty and anxiety to be normal; they never experienced any real pleasure in the act, or sense of satisfaction after it. Two of these cases are married, but in both cases marital relationships entirely ceased after a few years. Three other cases were attracted to women when younger, but are not now; another once felt sexually attracted to a boyish woman, but never made any attempt to obtain any relationships with her; 1 or 2 others, again, have tried to have connection with women, but failed. The largest proportion of my cases have never had any sexual intimacy with the opposite sex, but experience what, in the case of the male invert, is sometimes called *horror feminæ*. But, while woman as an object of sexual desire is disgusting to them, and it is usually difficult for a genuine invert to have connection with a woman except by setting up images of his own sex, for the most part they are capable of genuine friendships, irrespective of sex.

It is, perhaps, not difficult to account for the horror—much stronger than that normally felt toward a person of the same sex—with which the invert often regards the sexual organs of persons of the opposite sex. It cannot be said that the sexual organs of either sex under the influence of sexual excitement are esthetically pleasing; they only become emotionally desirable through the parallel excitement of the beholder. When the absence of parallel excitement is accompanied in the beholder by the sense of unfamiliarity, all the conditions are present for the production of intense *horror feminæ* or *horror masculis*, as the case may be.

EROTIC DREAMS.—Our dreams follow, as a general rule, the same impulses that stir our waking psychic life. The normal man in sexual vigor dreams of loving a woman, the inverted man dreams of loving a man, the inverted woman of loving a woman. There are a few exceptions,¹ and these are generally explicable by the subject's past or present experiences. In one case that I have brought forward the evolution and varying character of the erotic dreams is recorded in some detail; in this case they began in a rudimentary form at the early age of eight; in two other cases dreams of more or less sexual character began still earlier. Of my cases, only 3 state that there are no erotic dreams, while 23 acknowledge that the dreams are concerned more or less with persons of the same sex. Of these, at least 14 assert or imply that their dreams are exclusively of the same sex. Two (XVII and XVIII), though apparently inverted congenitally, have had erotic dreams of women, in the case of XVII more frequently than of men; these two exceptions have no apparent explanation. Another appears to have sexual dreams of a nightmare character in which women appear. In another case there were always at first dreams of women, but this subject had sometimes had connection with prostitutes, and is not absolutely indifferent to women. In the cases of distinct psychosexual hermaphroditism there is no unanimity: one dreams of his own sex, another dreams of both sexes, one usually dreams of the opposite sex, and one man, while dreaming of both, dislikes those dreams in which women figure.

It may be added that, as Moll has pointed out, the vividness with which the inverted instinct usually displays itself in dreams has some value in diagnosis when we are not quite sure how far the inverted tendency is radical. There is usually less unwillingness to confess to a perverted dream than to a perverted action.

METHODS OF SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP.—The exact mode in which an inverted instinct finds satisfaction is frequently of im-

¹ Nücke and Colin Scott independently refer to cases in which normal subjects are liable to inverted dreams, and Féré mentions a case in which the inversion appeared to be limited to dreams.

portance from the medico-legal stand-point; from a psychological stand-point it is of minor significance, being chiefly of interest as showing the degree to which the individual has departed from the instinctive feelings of his normal fellow-beings.

Taking the 31 inverted men of whom I have definite knowledge, I find that 6, restrained by moral and other considerations, have never had any physical relationship with their own sex. In 11 or 12 cases the sexual relationship rarely goes beyond close physical contact, or at most mutual masturbation. In 3 or 4 cases *fellatio* is the form preferred. In 13 cases, a large proportion, actual *pædicatio*—usually active, not passive—has been exercised. In these cases, however, *pædicatio* is by no means always the habitual or even the preferred method of gratification. It seems to be the preferred method in about 6 cases. The proportion of pederasts in this group of sexual inverts is larger than I should have been inclined to expect.¹

PSEUDO-SEXUAL ATTRACTION. — It is sometimes supposed that in homosexual relationships one person is always active, physically and emotionally, the other passive. Between men, at all events, this is very frequently not the case, and the invert cannot tell if he feels like a man or like a woman. Thus, one writes:—

"In bed with my friend I feel as he feels, and he feels as I feel. The result is masturbation, and nothing more or desire for more on my part. I get it over, too, as soon as possible, in order to come to the best—sleeping arms round each other, or talking so."

It remains true, however, that there may usually be traced what it is possible to call pseudo-sexual attraction, by which I mean a tendency for the invert to be attracted toward persons unlike himself, so that in his sexual relationships there is a certain semblance of sexual opposition. Inverts are not usually attracted to one another, although there are numerous exceptions to this rule among inverted men, perhaps fewer among inverted women. In at least 18—probably many more—of my

¹ I believe that a wider induction of cases would modify the result. In the first edition of this book I found that, in more than half the cases in which the point could be ascertained, *pædicatio* had taken place.

male cases there is a marked contrast between the subject and the individuals he is attracted to; either he is of somewhat feminine and sensitive nature, and admires more simple and virile natures, or he is fairly vigorous and admires boys, who are often of lower social class. Inverted women also are attracted to more clinging feminine persons.¹ A sexual attraction for boys is, no doubt, as Moll points out, that form of inversion which comes nearest to normal sexuality, for the subject of it usually approaches nearer to the average man in physical and mental disposition. The reason of this is obvious: boys resemble women, and therefore it requires a less profound organic twist to become sexually attracted to them. Anyone who has watched private theatricals in boys' schools will have observed how easy it is for boys to personate women successfully, and it is well known that until the middle of the seventeenth century women's parts on the stage were always taken by boys—whether with injury to their own or other people's morals I do not know. It is also worthy of note that in Greece, where homosexuality flourished so extensively, and apparently with so little accompaniment of neurotic degeneration, it was often held that only boys under 18 should be loved; so that the love of boys merged into the love of women. About 11 of my cases are most strongly attracted to youths,—preferably of about the age of 18 to 20,—and they are among the more normal and healthy of the cases. A preference for older men, or else a considerable degree of indifference to age alone, is more common, and perhaps indicates a deeper degree of perversion.

Putting aside the age of the object desired, it must be said that there is a distinctly general, though not universal, tendency for sexual inverts to approach the feminine type, either in psychic disposition or physical constitution, or both. I cannot say how far this is explained by the irritable nervous system and delicate health which are so often associated with inversion, though

¹ "Men," remarks Q., "tend to fall in love with boys or youths, boys or youths with grown men, feminine natures with virile natures and *vice versa*, cultured natures with uneducated and *vice versa*, and different races with each other."

this is certainly an important factor. Although the invert himself may stoutly affirm his masculinity, and although this femininity may not be very obvious, its wide prevalence may be asserted with considerable assurance, and by no means only among the small minority of inverts who take an exclusively passive rôle, though in these it is usually most marked. In this I am confirmed by Q., who writes: "In all, or certainly almost all, the cases of congenital male inverts (excluding psychosexual hermaphrodites) that I know there has been a remarkable sensitiveness and delicacy of sentiment, sympathy, and an intuitive habit of mind, such as we generally associate with the feminine sex, even though the body might be quite masculine in its form and habit." And a distinguished invert said to Moll: "We are all women; that we do not deny."

This is confirmed by one of my subjects, M. N., who writes: "With regard to the invert personally, speaking from my own experience, which has been considerable, I cannot agree with the opinion of several writers that inversion exists in any very varying degree. To me it appears that the female element must, of necessity, exist in the body that desires the male, and that Nature keeps her law in the spirit, though she breaks it in the form. The rest is all a matter of individual temperament and environment. The female nature of the invert, hampered though it is by its disguise of flesh, is still able to exert an extraordinary influence, and calls insistently upon the male. This influence seems called into action most violently in the presence of males possessed of strong sexual magnetism of their own. Such men are generally more or less conscious of the influence, and the result is either a vague appreciation, which will make the male wonder why he gets on so well with the invert, or else the influence will be realized to be something incongruous and unnatural, and will be resented accordingly. Sometimes, indeed, the reciprocated feeling (circumstance and opportunity permitting) will prove strong enough to induce sexual relations. Reason will then generally overpower instinct, and the feeling, aroused unaware, will probably be changed into repulsion. Further, the influence reacts in the same way on women, who, particularly if they are strongly sexual, experience involuntary sensations of dislike or antagonism on association with inverts. There is, however, one terrible reality for the invert to face, no matter how much he may wish to avoid it and seek to deceive himself. There exists for him an almost absolute lack of any genuine satisfaction either in the way of the affections or desires. His whole life is passed in vainly seeking and de-

siring the male, the antithesis of his nature, and in consorting with inverts he must perforce be content with the male in form only, the shadow without the substance. Indeed, one invert necessarily regards another as being of the same undesired female sex as himself, and for this reason it will be found that, while friendships between inverts frequently exist (and these are characteristically feminine, unstable, and liable to betrayal), love-attachments are less common, and when they occur must naturally be based upon considerable self-deception. Venal gratifications are always, of course, as equally possible as they are unsatisfactory, and here perhaps some of the peculiarities of taste accompanying inversion may admit of elucidation. In my opinion, comparison of the various methods of gratification as practiced by inverts is of little value for theoretical or other purposes. The whole question is merely one of temperament, frequently even of opportunity. In considering the peculiar predilection shown by inverts for youths of inferior social position, for the wearers of uniforms, and for extreme physical development and virility not necessarily accompanied by intellectuality, regard must be had to the probable conduct of women placed in a position of complete irresponsibility combined with absolute freedom of action and every opportunity for promiscuity. I can honestly assert that I have never come across any peculiarity tending to prove any different theory to the one I am trying to demonstrate. It seems to me that the importance of recognizing the underlying female element in inversion cannot be too strongly insisted upon."

"The majority" [of inverts], writes "Z." to me, "differ in no detail of their outward appearance, their *physique*, or their dress from normal men. They are athletic, masculine in habit, frank in manner, passing through society year after year without arousing a suspicion of their inner temperament; were it not so, society would long ago have had its eyes opened to the amount of perverted sexuality it harbors." These lines were written, not in opposition to the somewhat subtle distinctions pointed out above, but in refutation of the vulgar error which confuses the typical invert with the painted and petticoated creatures who appear in police-courts from time to time, and whose portraits are presented by Lombroso, Legludic, etc. On another occasion the same writer remarked, while expressing general agreement with the idea of a pseudo-sexual attraction: "The *liaison* is by no means always sought and begun by the person who is abnormally constituted. I mean that I can cite cases of decided males who have made up to inverts, and have found their happiness in the reciprocated passion. One pronounced male of this sort, again, once said to me, 'men are so much more affectionate than women.' [Precisely the same words were used by one of my subjects.] Also, the *liaison* springs up now and then quite accidentally through juxtaposition, when it is difficult to say whether either at the outset had an inverted

tendency of any marked quality. In these cases the sexual relation seems to come on as a heightening of comradely affection, and is found to be pleasurable—sometimes, I think, discovered to be safe as well as satisfying. On the other hand, so far as I know, it is extremely rare to observe a permanent *liaison* between two pronounced invert.

In inverted women a certain subtle masculinity or boyishness is equally prevalent, and it is not found in the women to whom they are attracted. Even in inversion the imperative need for a certain sexual opposition—the longing for something which the lover himself does not possess—still rules in full force. It expresses itself sometimes in an attraction between persons of different race and color. I am told that in American prisons for women Lesbian relationships are specially frequent between white and black women. A similar affinity is found among the Arabs, says Kocher; and, if an Arab woman has a Lesbian friend, the latter is usually European. In Cochin China, too, according to Lorion, while the Chinese are chiefly active pederasts, the Annamites are chiefly passive.

In this connection I may refer to the strong attraction which is even normally exerted by people of a different social class from the subject, and also, on many individuals, by uniforms.

PHYSICAL ABNORMALITIES. — The circumstances under which my cases were investigated usually rendered information under this head difficult to obtain. In one case the penis is very large, while in two others it is distinctly undeveloped, and the testicles small and flabby. It seems probable that both these deviations are fairly frequent, especially in the direction of incomplete development.

Perhaps the most interesting physical abnormality observed in my cases is the fairly well-marked gynecomasty in Case XXX. In this case the breasts swelled and became red; a similar condition of gynecomasty has been observed in connection with inversion by Moll, Laurent, and Wey.

My observations on women are too few to permit of any assured result, but I am distinctly of opinion that undeveloped sexual organs are frequent among inverted women. Putting to-

gether 9 cases by various observers (including 2 original observations) in which attention was paid to the sexual parts, only 4 were normal; the other 5 were all, more or less, undeveloped. In one of the women there is an unusual growth of hair on the legs.¹

A tendency to defect of anatomical sexual development is known to be correlated with a general tendency to what is termed infantilism, and also to feminism and masculism. I am much impressed by the frequency with which the signs of infantilism in the general bodily structure occur in inverts.²

It seems to me, on a review of all the facts that have come under my observation, that while there is no necessary connection between infantilism, feminism, and masculism, physical and psychic, on the one hand, and sexual inversion on the other, yet that there is a distinct tendency for the signs of the former group of abnormalities to occur with unusual frequency in inverts, and while I am not in a position to bring forward a sufficient body of evidence in support of this opinion, I have little doubt that it will be forthcoming in the future.³

¹ Unusual growth of hair on the body seems frequently to occur in both sexes in association with either abnormal sexual impulses or in excessively strong normal impulse. A woman physician in the United States, who knows many inverts of her own sex, tells me that she has observed this growth of hair on the legs. In two cases, also, she has observed supernumerary teeth, and she finds facial asymmetry very common.

² For an enumeration and study of these signs see an able and well-illustrated series of papers (which do not touch on the present question) by H. Meige, "*L'Infantilisme, le Féminisme, et les Hermaphrodites Antiques*," *L'Anthropologie*, 1895. In the *Post-graduate* (edited by Dr. Dana, New York), for January, 1896, there are also photographs of two men (four views of face and body of each) who earned their living, one as a lady's maid, the other as a female cook; these photographs are well worth study, though unaccompanied by histories.

³ It is curious to find a medico-legal record of this connection long before inversion was recognized. In June, 1833 (see, for example, *Annual Register* under this date), a man died who had lived as a kept woman under the name of Eliza Edwards. He was very effeminate in appearance, with beautiful hair, in ringlets two feet long, and a cracked voice; he played female parts in the theater "in the first line of tragedy," and "appeared as a most lady-like woman." The coroner's jury "strongly recommended to the proper authorities that some means may be adopted in the disposal of the body which will mark the ignominy of the crime."

Krafft-Ebing (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, eighth edition, p. 263) tells

If we are justified in believing that there is a tendency for inverted persons to be somewhat arrested in development, approaching the child type, we may connect this fact with the marked sexual precocity of inverts, for precocity is commonly accompanied by rapid arrest of development.

A correspondent, who is himself an invert, furnishes the following notes of cases he is well acquainted with; I quote them here, as they illustrate the anomalies commonly found:—

1. A., male, eldest child of typically neurotic family. Three children in all: 2 male and 1 female. The other 2 are somewhat eccentric, unsocial, and sexually frigid, 1 in a marked degree. The curious point about this case is that A., the only one of the family possessed of mental ability and social qualifications, should be inverted. Parents' marriage was very ill assorted and inharmonious, the father being of great stature and the mother abnormally small and of highly nervous temperament, both of feeble health. Ancestry unfortunate, especially on mother's side.

2. B., male, invert, younger of 2 sons, no other children, has extremely feminine disposition and appearance, of considerable personal attraction, has great musical talent. Penis very small and marked breast-development.

3. C., male, invert, younger of 2 sons; no other children. Interval of six years between first and second son. Parents' marriage one of great affection, but degenerate ancestry on mother's side. Cancer and scrofula in family.

4. D., male, invert, second child of 6; remainder girls. Of humble social position. Considerable depravity evinced by all the members of this family, with the exception of D., who alone proved steady, honest, and industrious.

5. E., male, invert, second son of family of 3, the youngest child being a girl, still-born. Of extreme neurotic temperament fostered by upbringing. Effeminate in build and disposition; musically gifted.

6. F., male, invert, second child of family of 5. Eldest child a girl, died in youth. After F. a boy G., a girl H., and another girl still-born. Parents badly matched, mother of considerable mental and physical

of an inverted physician (a man of masculine development and tastes) who had had sexual relations with 600 more or less inverted men. He observed no tendency to sexual malformation among them, but very frequently an approximation to a feminine form of body, as well as insufficient hair, delicate complexion, and high voice. Well-developed breasts were not rare, and some 10 per cent. showed a taste for feminine occupations.

strength, father last representative of moribund stock, the result of inter-marriage. Children all resembling father in appearance and mother in disposition. Drink-tendency in both boys, to which F.'s death at the age of 30 was mainly due. G. committed suicide some years later. The girl H. married into a family with worse ancestry than her own. Has two children:—

7. I. and J., boy and girl, both inverted as far as I am able to judge. The boy was born with some deformity of the feet and ankles; is of effeminate tastes and appearance. Boy resembles mother, and girl, who is of great physical development, resembles father.

The same correspondent adds:—

"I have noticed little abnormal with regard to the genital formation of inverts. There are, however, frequent abnormalities of proportion in their figures, the hands and feet being noticeably smaller and more shapely, the waist more marked, the body softer and less muscular. Almost invariably there is either cranial malformation or the head approaches the feminine in type and shape."

ARTISTIC AND OTHER APTITUDES.—An examination of my cases reveals the interesting fact that 32, or 68 per cent., possess artistic aptitude in varying degree. Galton found, from the investigation of nearly 1000 persons, that the average showing artistic tastes in England is only about 30 per cent. It must also be said that my figures are probably below the truth, as no special point was made of investigating the matter, and also that in many of my cases the artistic aptitudes are of high order.

With regard to the special avocations of my cases, it must, of course, be said that no occupation furnishes a safeguard against inversion. There are, however, certain occupations to which inverts are specially attracted. Acting is certainly one of the chief of these. Three of my cases belong to the dramatic profession, and others have marked dramatic ability. Art, again, in its various forms, and music, exercise much attraction. In my experience, however, literature is the avocation to which inverts seem to feel chiefly called, and that, moreover, in which they may find the highest degree of success and reputation. At least half a dozen of my cases are successful men of letters. They especially cultivate those regions of *belles-lettres* which lie on the border-land between prose and verse. Though they do not usually attain much eminence in poetry, they are often very accom-

plished writers of verse. They may be attracted to history, but do not usually attempt tasks of great magnitude, involving much patient labor. Science seems to have singularly little attraction for them, and, in England at all events, I do not know, and have not even heard of, any invert who has attained any degree of eminence in this field. Among doctors, indeed, inversion seems to be fairly liable to occur; 4 of my cases are doctors.¹

The tendency to dramatic aptitude among sexual inverts has attracted the attention of previous investigators in this field. Thus, Moll refers to the frequency of artistic, and especially dramatic, talent among inverts, and remarks that the cause is doubtful. After pointing out that the lie which they have to be perpetually living renders inverts always actors, he goes on to say:—

Apart from this, it seems to me that the capacity and the inclination to conceive situations and to represent them in a masterly manner corresponds to an abnormal predisposition of the nervous system, just as does sexual inversion; so that both phenomena are due to the same source.

I am in agreement with this statement; the congenitally inverted may, I believe, be looked upon as a class of individuals exhibiting nervous characters which, to some extent, approximate them to persons of artistic genius. The dramatic and artistic aptitudes of inverts are, therefore, partly due to the circumstances of the invert's life, which render him necessarily an

¹ Moll's experience in Germany is very similar to mine. He mentions the prevalence of inversion among literary men. He also remarks that, of all avocations, the highest proportion of inverts is found among male actors and music-hall artists who take women's parts. Jäger (in an unpublished chapter of his *Entdeckung der Seele*, printed in *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, B. 2, p. 108) mentions the frequency of homosexuality among barbers and waiters. I have been told that among London hair-dressers homosexuality is so prevalent that there is even a special attitude which the client may adopt in the chair to make known that he is an invert. In Chicago, also, Dr. Kiernan informs me, inversion is specially prevalent among barbers. Moll refers to its frequency among waitresses. I have no information regarding London waitresses, but I have received the history of a homosexual waitress from Sydney, New South Wales.

actor,—and in some few cases lead him into a love of deception comparable with that of a hysterical woman,—and partly, it is probable, to a congenital nervous predisposition allied to the predisposition to dramatic aptitude.

One of my correspondents has long been interested in the frequency of inversion among actors and actresses. He knew an inverted actor who told him he adopted the profession because it would enable him to indulge his proclivity; but, on the whole, he regards this tendency as due to "hitherto unconsidered imaginative flexibilities and curiosities in the individual. The actor, *ex hypothesi*, is one who works himself by sympathy (intellectual and emotional) into states of psychological being that are not his own. He learns to comprehend—nay, to live himself into—relations which were originally alien to his nature. The capacity for doing this—what makes a born actor—implies a faculty for extending his artistically acquired experience into life. In the process of his trade, therefore, he becomes at all points sensitive to human emotions, and, sexuality being the most intellectually undetermined of the appetites after hunger, the actor might discover in himself a sort of sexual indifference, out of which a sexual aberration could easily arise. A man devoid of this imaginative flexibility could not be a successful actor. The man who possesses it would be exposed to divagations of the sexual instinct under esthetical or merely wanton influences. Something of the same kind is applicable to musicians and artists, in whom sexual inversion prevails beyond the average. They are conditioned by their esthetical faculty, and encouraged by the circumstances of their life to feel and express the whole gamut of emotional experience. Thus they get an environment which (unless they are sharply otherwise differentiated) leads easily to experiments in passion. All this joins on to what you call the 'variational diathesis' of men of genius. But I should seek the explanation of the phenomenon less in the original sexual constitution than in the exercise of sympathetic, assimilative emotional qualities, powerfully stimulated and acted on by the conditions of the individual's life. The artist, the singer, the actor, the painter, are more exposed to the influences out of which sexual differentiation in an abnormal direction may arise. Some persons are certainly made abnormal by nature, others, of this sympathetic artistic temperament, may become so through their sympathies plus their conditions of life." It is possible there may be some element of truth in this view, which my correspondent regarded as purely hypothetical.

In this connection I may, perhaps, mention a moral quality which is very often associated with dramatic aptitude, and also

with minor degrees of nervous degeneration, and that is vanity and the love of applause. While among a considerable section of inverts it is not more marked than among the non-inverted, if not, indeed, less marked, among another section it is found in an exaggerated degree. In Case XXXVIII vanity and delight in admiration, both as regards personal qualities and artistic productions, reach an almost morbid extent. And the quotations from letters written by various others of my subjects show a curious complacency in the description of their personal physical characters, markedly absent in other cases.

The most marked pre-occupation with personal beauty which I have seen recorded of an invert occurs in the history of himself written by a young Italian of good family, and sent by him to M. Zola in the hope— itself a sign of vanity—that the distinguished novelist would make it the subject of one of his works. The history is reproduced in the *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle* (1894) and in Dr. Laughton's *Perversion et Perversité Sexuelles* (1896). I quote the following passage: "At the age of 18 I was, with few differences, what I am now (at 23). I am rather below the medium height (1.65 metres), well proportioned, slender, but not lean. My torso is superb; a sculptor could find nothing against it, and would not find it very different from that of Antinous. My back is very arched (*cambré*), perhaps too much so; and my hips are very developed; my pelvis is broad, like a woman's; my knees slightly approximate; my feet are small; my hands superb; the fingers curved back and with glistening nails, rosy and polished, cut squarely like those of ancient statues. My neck is long and round, the nape charmingly adorned with downy hairs. My head is charming, and at 18 was more so. The oval of it is perfect, and strikes all by its infantine form. At 23 I am to be taken for 17 at most. My complexion is white and rosy, deepening at the faintest emotion. The forehead is not beautiful; it recedes slightly and is hollow at the temples, but, fortunately, it is half-covered by long hair, of a dark blonde, which curls naturally. The head is perfect in form, because of the curly hair, but on examination there is an enormous protuberance at the occiput. My eyes are oval, of a gray blue, with dark chestnut eyelashes and thick, arched eyebrows. My eyes are very liquid, but with dark circles, and bistered; and they are subject to slight temporary inflammation. My mouth is fairly large, with thick red lips, the lower pendent; they tell me I have the Austrian mouth. My teeth are dazzling, though three are decayed and stopped; fortunately, they cannot be seen. My ears are small and with very colored lobes. My chin is very fat, and at 18 it was smooth and velvety as a woman's; at

present there is a slight beard, always shaved. Two beauty spots, black and velvety, on my left cheek, contrast with my blue eyes. My nose is thin and straight, with delicate nostrils and a slight, almost insensible curve. My voice is gentle, and people always regret that I have not learned to sing." This description is noteworthy as a detailed portrait of a sexual invert of a certain type; the whole history is interesting and instructive.

Certain peculiarities in taste as regards costume have rightly or wrongly been attributed to inverts,—apart from the tendency of a certain group to adopt feminine habits,—and may here be mentioned. Tardieu many years ago referred to the taste for keeping the neck uncovered. This peculiarity may certainly be observed among a considerable proportion of inverts, especially the more artistic among them. The cause does not appear to be precisely vanity so much as that physical consciousness which is so curiously marked in inverts, and induces the more feminine among them to cultivate feminine grace of form, and the more masculine to emphasize the masculine athletic habit.

It has also been remarked that inverts exhibit a preference for green garments. In Rome *cinædi* were for this reason called *galbanati*. Chevalier remarks that some years ago a band of pederasts at Paris wore green cravats as a badge. This decided preference for green is well marked in several of my cases of both sexes, and in some at least the preference certainly arose spontaneously. Green (as Jastrow and others have shown¹) is very rarely the favorite color of adults of the Anglo-Saxon race, though some inquirers have found it to be more commonly a preferred color among children, especially girls.

The frequent inability of male inverts to whistle was first pointed out by Ulrichs. Many of my cases confess to this inability, while some of the women inverts can whistle admirably. Although this inability of male inverts is only found among a minority, I am quite satisfied that it is well marked among a considerable minority. One of my correspondents, M. N., writes to me: "With regard to the general inability of inverts to whistle

¹ For a summary of various investigations, see H. Ellis, "The Psychology of Red," *Popular Science Monthly*, August and September, 1900.

(I am not able to do so myself), their fondness for green (my favorite color), their feminine caligraphy, skill at female occupations, etc., these all seem to me but indications of the one principle. To go still farther and include trivial things, few inverts even smoke in the same manner and with the same enjoyment as a man, they have seldom the male facility at games, cannot throw at a mark with precision, or even spit!"

Nearly all these peculiarities indicate a minor degree of nervous disturbance and lead to modification, as my correspondent points out, in a feminine direction. It is scarcely necessary to add that they by no means necessarily imply inversion. Shelley, for instance, was unable to whistle, though he never gave an indication of inversion, but he was a person of somewhat abnormal and feminine organization, and he illustrates the tendency of these apparently very insignificant functional anomalies to be correlated with other and more important psychic anomalies.

MORAL ATTITUDE OF THE INVERT.—There is some interest in tracing the invert's own attitude toward his anomaly, and his estimate of its morality. As my cases are not patients seeking to be cured of their perversion, this attitude cannot be taken for granted. I have noted the moral attitude in 41 cases. In 3 the subjects loathe themselves, and have fought in vain against their perversion. Seven or 8 are doubtful, and have little to say in justification of their condition, which they regard as perhaps morbid. The remainder, a large majority (including all the women) are, on the other hand, emphatic in their assertion that their moral position is precisely the same as that of the normally constituted individual; 1 or 2 even regard inverted love as nobler than ordinary sexual love; several add the proviso that there should be consent and understanding on both sides, and no attempt at seduction. The chief regret of 1 or 2 is the double life they are obliged to lead. It is noteworthy that even when the condition is regarded as morbid, and even when a life of chastity has, on this account, been deliberately chosen, it is very rare to find an invert expressing any wish to change his sexual ideals. The male invert cannot find, and has no desire

to find, any sexual charm in a woman, for he finds all possible charms united in a man. And a woman invert writes: "I cannot conceive a sadder fate than to be a woman—an average woman reduced to the necessity of loving a man!"

It will be seen that my conclusions under this head are in striking contrast to those of Westphal, who believed that every invert regarded himself as morbid, and probably show a much higher proportion of self-approving inverts than any previous series. This is due partly to the way in which the cases were obtained, and partly to the fact that they may be said, on the whole, to represent the intellectual aristocracy of inversion, including a large number of individuals who, often not without severe struggles, have found consolation in the example of the Greeks, or elsewhere, and have succeeded in attaining a *modus vivendi* with the moral world, as they have come to conceive it.

CHAPTER VI.

THE THEORY OF SEXUAL INVERSION.

What is Sexual Inversion?—Causes of Diverging Views—The Theory of Suggestion Unworkable—Importance of the Congenital Element in Inversion—The Theory of the Female Soul—Embryonic Hermaphroditism as a Key to Inversion—Inversion as a Variation or "Sport"—Comparison with Color-blindness, Color-hearing, and Similar Abnormalities—What is an Abnormality?—Not Necessarily a Disease—Relation of Inversion to Degeneration—Exciting Causes of Inversion—Seldom Operative in the Absence of Predisposition.

THE analysis of these cases leads directly up to a question of the first importance: What is sexual inversion? Is it, as many would have us believe, an abominable acquired vice, to be stamped out by the prison? or is it, as a few assert, a beneficial variety of human emotion which should be tolerated or even fostered? Is it a diseased condition which qualifies its subject for the lunatic asylum? or is it a natural monstrosity, a human "sport," the manifestations of which must be regulated when they become antisocial? There is probably an element of truth in more than one of these views. I am prepared to admit that very widely divergent views of sexual inversion are largely justified by the position and attitude of the investigator. It is natural that the police-official should find that his cases are largely mere examples of disgusting vice and crime. It is natural that the asylum superintendent should find that we are chiefly dealing with a form of insanity. It is equally natural that the sexual invert himself should find that he and his inverted friends are not so very unlike ordinary persons. We have to recognize the influence of professional and personal bias and the influence of environment, one investigator basing his conclusions on one class of cases, another on a quite different class of cases. Naturally, I have largely founded my own conclusions on my own cases. I believe, however, that my cases and my attitude toward them

justify me in doing this with some confidence. I am not in the position of one who is pleading *pro domo*, nor of the police-official, nor even of the physician, for these persons have not come to me for treatment. I approach the matter as a psychologist who has ascertained certain definite facts, and who is founding his conclusions on those facts.

The first point which impresses me is that we must regard sexual inversion as largely a congenital phenomenon, or, to speak more accurately, as a phenomenon which is based on congenital conditions. This, I think, lies at the root of the right comprehension of the matter. There are at the present day two streams of tendency in the views regarding sexual inversion: one seeking to enlarge the sphere of the acquired (represented by Binet,—who, however, recognizes predisposition,—Schrenck-Notzing, and others), the other seeking to enlarge the sphere of the congenital (represented by Krafft-Ebing, Moll, Féré, and others).¹ There is, as usually happens, truth in both these views. But inasmuch as those who represent the acquired view often emphatically deny any congenital element, I think we are specially called upon to emphasize this congenital element. The view that sexual inversion is entirely explained by the influence of early association, or of “suggestion,” is an attractive one, and at first sight it seems to be supported by what we know of erotic fetichism, by which a woman’s hair, or foot, or even clothing, becomes the focus of a man’s sexual aspirations. But it must be remembered that what we see in erotic fetichism is merely the exaggeration of a normal impulse; every lover is to some extent excited by his mistress’s hair, or foot, or clothing. Even here, therefore, there is really what may fairly be regarded as a congenital element; and, moreover, there is reason to believe that the erotic fetichist usually displays the further congenital element of hereditary neurosis. Therefore, the analogy with erotic fetichism does not bring much

¹ A summary of the chief theories of sexual inversion will be found in Dr. P. Penta, “L’Origine e la Patogenesi della Inversione Sessuale,” *Archivio del Psicopatologia Sessuale*, 1896, fasc. 4 and 5. The various theories are also discussed by Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation, tenth edition, 1899, pp. 323-339, and by Moll, *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, 1899, pp. 394-414.

help to those who argue that inversion is purely acquired. It must also be pointed out that the argument for acquired or suggested inversion logically involves the assertion that normal sexuality is also acquired or suggested. If a man becomes attracted to his own sex simply because the fact or the image of such attraction is brought before him, then we are bound to believe that a man becomes attracted to the opposite sex only because the fact or the image of such attraction is brought before him. This theory is wholly unworkable. In nearly every country of the world men associate with men, and women with women; if association and suggestion were the only influential causes, then inversion, instead of being the exception, ought to be the rule throughout the human species, if not, indeed, throughout the whole zoölogical series. We should, moreover, have to admit that the most fundamental human instinct is so constituted as to be equally well adapted for sterility as for that propagation of the race which, as a matter of fact, we find dominant throughout the whole of life. We must, therefore, put aside entirely the notion that the direction of the sexual impulse is merely a suggested phenomenon; such a notion is entirely opposed to observation and experience, and will with difficulty fit into a rational biological scheme.

The rational way of regarding the normal sexual impulse is as an inborn organic impulse, developing about the time of puberty.¹ At this period suggestion and association may come

¹ It is denied by some (Meynert, Näcke, etc.) that there is any sexual *instinct* at all. I may as well, therefore, explain in what sense I use the word. I mean an inherited aptitude the performance of which normally demands for its full satisfaction the presence of a person of the opposite sex. It might be asserted that there is no such thing as an instinct for food, that it is all imitation, etc. In a sense this is true, but the automatic basis remains. A chicken from an incubator needs no hen to teach it to eat. It seems to discover eating and drinking, as it were, by chance, at first eating awkwardly and eating everything, until it learns what will best satisfy its organic mechanism. There is no instinct for food, it may be, but there is an instinct which is only satisfied by food. It is the same with the "sexual instinct." The tentative and omnivorous habits of the newly hatched chicken may be compared to the uncertainty of the sexual instinct at puberty, while the sexual pervert is like a chicken that should carry on into adult age an appetite for worsted and paper. It may be added here that the question of the hereditary nature of the sexual in-

in to play a part in defining the object of the emotion; the soil is now ready, but the variety of seeds likely to thrive in it is limited. That there is a greater indefiniteness in the aim of the sexual impulse at this period we may well believe. This is shown not only by occasional tentative signs of sexual emotion directed toward the same sex, but by the usually vague and non-sexual character of the normal passion at puberty. But the channel of sexual emotion is not thereby turned into an utterly abnormal path. Whenever this permanently happens we are, I think, bound to believe—and we have many grounds for believing—that we are dealing with an organism which from the beginning is abnormal. The same seed of suggestion is sown in various soils; in the many it dies out, in the few it flourishes. The cause can only be a difference in the soil.

If, then, we must postulate a congenital abnormality in order to account satisfactorily for at least a large proportion of sexual inverts, wherein does that abnormality consist? Ulrichs explained the matter by saying that in sexual inverts a male body co-exists with a female soul: *anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa*. Even writers with some pretension to scientific precision, like Magnan and Gley, have adopted this phrase in a modified form, considering that in inversion a female brain is combined with a male body or male glands. This is, however, not an explanation. It merely crystallizes into an epigram the superficial impression of the matter. As an explanation it is to a scientific psychologist unthinkable. We only know soul as manifested through body; and, although if we say that a person seems to have the body of a man and the feelings of a woman we are saying what is often true enough, it is quite another matter to assert dogmatically that a female soul, or even a female brain, is expressing itself through a male body. That is simply unintelligible. I say nothing of the fact that in male inverts the fem-

stinct has been exhaustively discussed and decisively affirmed by Moll in his *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, 1898. Moll (*Konträre Sexualempfindung*, p. 413) attaches much importance to the inheritance of the normal aptitudes for sexual reaction in an abnormally weak degree as a factor in the development of sexual perversions.

inine psychic tendencies may be little if at all marked, so that there is no "feminine soul" in the question; nor of the further important fact that in a very large proportion of cases the body itself presents secondary sexual characters that are distinctly modified.

We can probably grasp the nature of the abnormality better if we reflect on the development of the sexes and on the latent organic bisexuality in each sex. At an early stage of development the sexes are indistinguishable, and throughout life the traces of this early community of sex remain. The hen fowl retains in a rudimentary form the spurs which are so large and formidable in her lord, and sometimes she develops a capacity to crow, or puts on male plumage. Among mammals the male possesses useless nipples, which occasionally even develop into breasts, and the female possesses a clitoris, which is merely a rudimentary penis, and may also develop. The sexually inverted person does not usually possess any gross exaggeration of these signs of community with the opposite sex. But, as we have seen, there are a considerable number of more subtle approximations to the opposite sex in inverted persons, both on the physical and the psychic side. Putting the matter in a purely speculative shape, it may be said that at conception the organism is provided with about 50 per cent. of male germs and about 50 per cent. of female germs, and that, as development proceeds, either the male or the female germs assume the upper hand, killing out those of the other sex, until in the maturely developed individual only a few aborted germs of the opposite sex are left. In the homosexual person, however, and in the psychosexual hermaphrodite, we may imagine that the process has not proceeded normally, on account of some peculiarity in the number or character of either the original male germs or female germs, or both, the result being that we have a person who is organically twisted into a shape that is more fitted for the exercise of the inverted than of the normal sexual impulse, or else equally fitted for both.¹

¹ I do not present this view as more than a picture which helps us to realize the actual phenomena which we witness in homosexuality, although I may add that so able a teratologist as Dr. J. W. Ballantyne considers that "it seems a very possible theory."

The idea that sexual inversion is a variation, perhaps due to imperfect sexual differentiation, or reversion of type, seems to have had its origin in the speculations of Ulrichs. From the medical side it appears to have been first set forth (in America) by Kiernan (*American Lancet*, 1884, and *Medical Standard*, November and December, 1888), and Lydston (*Philadelphia Medical and Surgical Reporter*, September, 1889, and *Addresses and Essays*, 1892). Kiernan writes (in further maintaining his position in a paper on "Responsibility in Sexual Perversion," read before the Chicago Medical Society in 1892): "The original bisexuality of the ancestors of the race, shown in the rudimentary female organs of the male, could not fail to occasion functional, if not organic, reversions, when mental or physical manifestations were interfered with by disease or congenital defect. It seems certain that a femininely functioning brain can occupy a male body, and *vice versa*. Males may be born with female genitals and *vice versa*. The lowest animals are bisexual, and the various types of hermaphroditism are more or less complete reversions to the ancestral type. That the femininely functioning brain alone should be developed at times, with its psychical consequences, is to be expected." And Lydston (*Addresses and Essays*, p. 246) remarks: "Just as we may have variations of physical form and of mental attributes, in general, so we may have variations and perversions of that intangible entity, sexual affinity"; and (p. 46) he refers to failure of development and imperfect differentiation of generative centers, comparable to conditions like hypospadias and epispadias. Dr. G. de Letamendi, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Madrid, in a paper read before the International Medical Congress at Rome in 1894, set forth a principle of panhermaphroditism—a hermaphroditic bipolarity—which involves the existence of latent female germs in the male, latent male germs in the female, which latent germs may strive for, and sometimes obtain, the mastery. In Germany a patient of Krafft-Ebing has worked out the same idea, connecting inversion with fetal bisexuality (eighth edition *Psychopathia Sexualis*, p. 227). Krafft-Ebing himself simply asserts that, whether congenital or acquired, there must be *Belastung*; inversion is a "degenerative phenomenon," a functional sign of degeneration (Krafft-Ebing, "Zur Erklärung der conträren Sexualempfindung," *Jahrbuch für Psychiatrie*, 1894). In the later editions of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, however, Krafft-Ebing has gone farther, adopting an explanation on the lines of an original bisexuality (English translation of tenth edition, pp. 336-7). In much the same language as I have used (though independently) he argues that there has been a struggle in the centers, homosexuality resulting when the center antagonistic to that represented by the sexual gland conquers, and psychosexual hermaphroditism resulting when both centers are too weak to obtain victory, in either case such disturbance being a manifestation of degeneration. Moll, while accepting the explanation on embryological

lines as "a happy thought" (*Konträre Sexualempfindung*, p. 411), points out, very truly, that the phenomena are too complicated to be entirely explained in this way.

Thus in sexual inversion we have what may fairly be called a "sport," or variation, one of those organic aberrations which we see throughout living nature, in plants and in animals.

It is not here asserted, as I would carefully point out, that an inverted sexual instinct, or organ for such instinct, is developed in early embryonic life; such a notion is rightly rejected as absurd. What we may reasonably regard as formed at an early stage of development is strictly a predisposition; that is to say, such a modification of the organism that it becomes more adapted than the normal or average organism to experience sexual attraction to the same sex. The sexual invert may thus be roughly compared to the congenital idiot, to the instinctive criminal, to the man of genius, who are all not strictly concordant with the usual biological variation (because this is of a less subtle character), but who become somewhat more intelligible to us if we bear in mind their affinity to variations. A correspondent compares inversion to color-blindness; and such a comparison is reasonable. Just as the ordinary color-blind person is congenitally insensitive to those red-green rays which are precisely the most impressive to the normal eye, and gives an extended value to the other colors,—finding that blood is the same color as grass, and a florid complexion blue as the sky,—so the invert fails to see emotional values patent to normal persons, transferring those values to emotional associations which, for the rest of the world, are utterly distinct. Or we may compare inversion to such a phenomenon as color-hearing, in which there is not so much defect, as an abnormality of nervous tracks producing new and involuntary combinations.¹ Just as the color-hearer

¹ Since this chapter was first published (in the *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde*, February, 1896), Féré has also compared congenital inversion to color-blindness and similar anomalies (Féré, "La Descendance d'un Inverti," *Revue Générale de Clinique et Thérapeutique*, 1896), while Ribot has referred to the analogy with color-hearing (*Psychology of the Emotions*, Part II, Chapter VII).

instinctively associates colors with sounds, like the young Japanese lady who remarked when listening to singing, "That boy's voice is red!" so the invert has his sexual sensations brought into relationship with objects that are normally without sexual appeal. And inversion, like color-hearing, is found more commonly in young subjects, tending to become less marked, or to die out, after puberty. Color-hearing, while an abnormal phenomenon, it must be added, cannot be called a diseased condition, and it is probably much less frequently associated with other abnormal or degenerative stigmata than is inversion; there is often a congenital element, shown by the tendency to hereditary transmission, while the associations are developed in very early life, and are too regular to be the simple result of suggestion.¹

All these organic variations, which I have here mentioned to illustrate sexual inversion, are abnormalities. It is important that we should have a clear idea as to what an abnormality is. Many people imagine that what is abnormal is necessarily diseased. That is not the case, unless we give the word disease an inconveniently and illegitimately wide extension. It is both inconvenient and inexact to speak of color-blindness, criminality, and genius as diseases in the same sense as we speak of scarlet fever or tuberculosis or general paralysis as diseases. Every congenital abnormality is doubtless due to a peculiarity in the sperm or oval elements or in their mingling, or to some disturbance in their early development. But the same may doubtless be said of the normal dissimilarities between brothers and sisters. It is quite true that any of these aberrations may be due to antenatal disease, but to call them abnormal does not beg that question. If it is thought that any authority is needed to support this view, we can scarcely find a weightier than that of Virchow, who has repeatedly insisted on the right use of the word "anomaly," and who teaches that, though an anomaly may constitute a predis-

¹ See, e.g., Flournoy, *Des Phénomènes de Synopsie*, Geneva, 1893; and for a brief discussion of the general phenomena of synesthesia, E. Parish, *Hallucinations and Illusions (Contemporary Science Series)*, Chapter VII; and Bleuler, Article "Secondary Sensations," in Tuke's *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*.

position to disease, the study of anomalies—pathology, as he would call it, teratology as we may perhaps prefer to call it—is not the study of disease, which he would term nosology; the study of the abnormal is perfectly distinct from the study of the morbid.¹ Virchow considers that the region of the abnormal is the region of pathology, and that the study of disease must be regarded distinctly as nosology. Whether we adopt this terminology, or whether we consider the study of the abnormal as part of teratology, is a secondary matter, not affecting the right understanding of the term “anomaly” and its due differentiation from the term “disease.”

A word may be said as to the connection between sexual inversion and degeneration. In France especially, since the days of Morel, the stigmata of degeneration are much spoken of. Sexual inversion is frequently regarded as one of them: *i.e.*, as an episodic *syndrome* of a hereditary disease, taking its place beside other psychic stigmata, such as kleptomania and pyromania. Krafft-Ebing also so regards inversion. Strictly speaking, the invert is degenerate; he has fallen away from the genus. So is a color-blind person. But Morel's conception of

¹ Thus at the Innsbruck meeting of the German Anthropological Society, in 1894, Virchow thus expressed himself: “I am of opinion that a transformation, a metaplasia, a change from one species into another,—whether in individual animals or plants, or individuals or their tissues,—cannot take place without anomaly, for, if no anomaly appears, this new departure is impossible. *The physiological norm hitherto subsisting is changed*, and we cannot well call that anything else but an anomaly. But in old days an anomaly was called *παθος*, and in this sense every departure from the norm is for me a pathological event. If we have ascertained such a pathological event, we are further led to investigate what *pathos* was the special cause of it. . . . This cause may be, for example, an external force, or a chemical substance, or a physical agent, producing in the normal condition of the body a change, an anomaly (*παθος*). This can become hereditary under some circumstances, and then become the foundation for certain small hereditary characters which are propagated in a family; in themselves they belong to pathology, even although they produce no injury. For I must remark that pathological does not mean harmful; it does not indicate disease; disease in Greek is *νόσος*, and it is nosology that is concerned with disease. The pathological under some circumstances can be advantageous” (*Correspondenz-blatt von Deutsch Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1894). Putting aside the question of terminology, these remarks are of interest when we are attempting to find the wider bearings of such an anomaly as sexual inversion.

degenerescence has unfortunately been coarsened and vulgarized.¹ As it now stands, we gain little or no information by being told that a person is a "degenerate." When we find a complexus of well-marked abnormalities, we are fairly justified in asserting that we have to deal with a condition of degeneration. Inversion is frequently found in such a condition. I have, indeed, already tried to suggest that a condition of diffused minor abnormality may be regarded as the basis of congenital inversion. In other words, inversion is bound up with a modification of the secondary sexual characters.² But little is gained by calling these modifications "stigmata of degeneration," a term which threatens to disappear from scientific terminology, to become a mere term of literary and journalistic abuse. So much may be said concerning a conception or a phrase of which far too much has been made in popular literature. At the best it remains vague and little fitted for scientific use.³

Sexual inversion, therefore, remains a congenital abnormality, to be classed with the other congenital abnormalities which

¹ It is this fact which has caused the Italians to be shy of using the word "degeneration"; thus, Marro, in his great work, *I Caratteri dei Delinquenti*, has made a notable attempt to analyze the phenomena lumped together as degenerate into three groups: atypical, atavistic, and morbid.

² Kurella goes so far as to regard the invert as a transitional form between the complete man, or the complete woman, and the genuine sexual hermaphrodite (preface to the German edition of Laurent's *Les Bisexués*, 1896; and *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde*, May, 1896). This view is supported by what we see in animals (see pp. 2 *et seq.*), but scarcely accounts for all the facts in the human subject. Moll (*Konträre Sexualempfindung*, p. 411) would regard some cases of inversion as the development of contrary secondary sexual characters, but is not inclined to extend this explanation widely. Krafft-Ebing (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation, pp. 336-7, 1899), while denying the possibility of "a feminine brain in a masculine body," thinks we can admit "a feminine psychosexual center in a masculine brain." At the same time he points out that "hermaphroditism and sexual inversion stand in no relation to each other."

³ The inverted impulse is sometimes (as by Nücke) considered an obsession, developing on a neurasthenic or neurotic basis. That there is an analogy and, indeed, a distinct relationship between obsessions and sexual perversions I fully believe, but obsessions are so vague, capricious, and ill understood, that I am not inclined to press the analogy very far. We cannot explain the little known by the less known. I would rather explain obsessions by reference to the sexual impulse, than the sexual impulse by reference to obsessions.

have psychic concomitants. At the very least such congenital abnormality usually exists as a predisposition to inversion. It is probable that many persons go through the world with a congenital predisposition to inversion which always remain latent and unroused; in others the instinct is so strong that it forces its own way in spite of all obstacles; in others, again, the predisposition is weaker, and a powerful exciting cause plays the predominant part.

We are thus led to the consideration of the causes that excite the latent predisposition. A great variety of causes has been held to excite to sexual inversion. It is only necessary to mention those which I have found influential. The most important of these is undoubtedly our school-system, with its segregation of boys and girls apart from each other during the important periods of puberty and adolescence. Many congenital inverts have not been to school at all, and many who have been pass through school-life without forming any passionate or sexual relationship; but there remain a large number who date the development of homosexuality from the influences and examples of school-life. The impressions received at the time are not less potent because they are often purely sentimental and without any obvious sensual admixture. Whether they are sufficiently potent to generate permanent inversion alone may be doubtful, but, if it is true that in early life the sexual instincts are less definitely determined than when adolescence is complete, it is conceivable, though unproved, that a very strong impression, acting even on a normal organism, may cause arrest of sexual development on the psychic side. It is a question I am not in a position to settle.

Another important exciting cause of inversion is seduction. By this I mean the initiation of the young boy or girl by some older and more experienced person in whom inversion is already developed, and who is seeking the gratification of the abnormal instinct. This appears to be a not uncommon incident in the early history of sexual inverts. That such seduction—sometimes an abrupt and inconsiderate act of mere sexual gratification—could by itself produce a taste for homosexuality is highly im-

probable; in individuals not already predisposed it is far more likely to produce disgust, as it did in the case of the youthful Rousseau. "He only can be seduced," as Moll puts it, "who is capable of being seduced." No doubt it frequently happens in these, as so often in more normal "seductions," that the victim has offered a voluntary or involuntary invitation.

Another exciting cause of inversion, to which little importance is usually attached, but which I find to have some weight, is disappointment in normal love. It happens that a man in whom the homosexual instinct is yet only latent, or at all events held in a state of repression, tries to form a relationship with a woman. This relationship may be ardent on one or both sides, but—often, doubtless, from the latent homosexuality of the lover—it comes to nothing. Such love-disappointments, in a more or less acute form, occur at some time or another to nearly everyone. But in these persons the disappointment with one woman constitutes motive strong enough to disgust the lover with the whole sex and to turn his attention toward his own sex. It is evident that the instinct which can thus be turned round can scarcely be strong, and it seems probable that in some of these cases the episode of normal love simply serves to bring home to the invert the fact that he is not made for normal love.¹ In other cases, it seems,—especially those that are somewhat feeble-minded and unbalanced,—a love-disappointment really does poison the normal instinct, and a more or less impotent love for women becomes an equally impotent love for men. The prevalence of homosexuality among prostitutes must certainly be, to a large extent, explained by a similar and better-founded disgust with normal sexuality.

These three influences, therefore,—example at school, seduction, disappointment in normal love,—all of them drawing the subject away from the opposite sex and concentrating him on his own sex, are powerful exciting causes of inversion; but they mostly require a favorable organic predisposition to act on, while there are a large number of cases in which no exciting cause at

¹ See, for instance, an incident in the early life of Case XXV.

all can be found, but in which, from earliest childhood, the subject's interest seems to be turned on his own sex, and continues to be so turned throughout life.

At this point I conclude the analysis of the psychology of sexual inversion as it presents itself to me. I have sought only to bring out the more salient points, neglecting minor points, neglecting also those groups of inverts who may be regarded as of secondary importance. The average invert, moving in ordinary society, so far as my evidence extends, is most usually a person of average general health, though very frequently with hereditary relationships that are markedly neurotic. He is usually the subject of a congenital predisposing abnormality, or complexus of minor abnormalities, making it difficult or impossible for him to feel sexual attraction to the opposite sex, and easy to feel sexual attraction to his own sex. This abnormality either appears spontaneously from the first, by development or arrest of development, or it is called into activity by some accidental circumstance.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSIONS.

The Prevention of Homosexuality—The Influence of the School—Co-education—The Treatment of Sexual Inversion—Criticism of Schrenck-Notzing's Methods—Mental and Physical Hygiene—The Limits to the Radical Cure of Inversion—The Children of Inverts—The Attitude of Society—Origin of the Horror Aroused by Homosexuality—Connection Between Homosexuality and Infanticide—Justinian—The *Code Napoléon*—The State of the Law in Europe To-day—Germany—England—What Should be our Attitude toward Homosexuality?

HAVING now completed the psychological analysis of the sexual invert, so far as I have been able to study him, it only remains to speak briefly of the attitude of society and the law. First, however, a few words as to the medical aspects of inversion, and its prevention.

The question of the prevention of homosexuality is a large one, but it is in too vague a position at present to be very profitably discussed. So far as the really congenital invert is concerned, prevention can have but small influence; but, as in a large proportion of cases there is little obvious congenital element, sound social hygiene should render difficult the acquisition of homosexual perversity. What we need first of all is a much greater degree of sincerity concerning the actual facts. The school is undoubtedly the great breeding-place of artificial homosexuality among the general population. Its influence in this respect may have been overestimated, but it is undoubtedly large. It is very unfortunate that school-authorities do their best to ignore and conceal the facts. The time is coming, however, when much greater attention to this matter will be insisted on in physicians and others who have the care of boys in large public and other schools. We cannot allow such persons to be mere instruments in the hands of corporations and individuals who are prepared to sacrifice everything to what is called the

"school" or "the prosperity of the school," but which has nothing whatever to do with education or with the welfare of the scholar. While much may be done by physical hygiene and other means to prevent the extension of homosexuality in schools,¹ it is impossible absolutely to repress the emotional manifestations of sex in either boys or girls who have reached the age of puberty. It must always be remembered that profoundly rooted organic impulses cannot be effectually combated by direct methods. Writing of a period two centuries ago, Casanova,² in relating his early life as a seminarist trained to the priesthood, describes the precautions taken to prevent the youths entering each other's bed, and points out the folly of such precautions. As that master of the human heart remarks, such prohibitions intensify the very evil they are intended to prevent by invoking in its aid the impulse to disobedience natural to every child of Adam and Eve, and the observation has often been repeated by teachers since. We probably have to recognize that the only way to render such manifestations wholesome, as well as to prepare for the relationships of later life, is to insure the adoption, so far as possible, of the methods of co-education of the sexes. This, however, is not the place to insist on the desirability of co-education.³

Turning from the prevention of sexual inversion to its medical treatment, so far as I am entitled to any opinion, I strongly

¹In this connection I may refer to the writings of Dr. Clement Dukes, physician to Rugby School, who fully recognizes the risks of school-life, and to the discussion on sexual vice in schools, started by an address by the Rev. J. M. Wilson, head-master of Clifton College, in the *Journal of Education*, 1881-82.

²Casanova, *Mémoires*, volume i (edition Garnier), p. 160. Cf. the remarks by an experienced master in one of the largest English public schools, which I have brought forward, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, volume ii, "Auto-erotism," 1900.

³Reference may, however, be made to the fact that those persons who have themselves been co-educated with the opposite sex are almost unanimously in favor of such education. See, for instance, "Will the Co-educated Co-educate their Children?" (*Forum*, July, 1894), by Prof. Martha F. Crow, who specially investigated this point. I need scarcely point out that co-education does not necessarily involve identity of education for the two sexes. And with regard to the importance of the sexual emotions generally and their training, I may refer to a remarkable book by Edward Carpenter, *Love's Coming of Age* (Manchester, 1896).

advocate discrimination, caution, and skepticism.¹ I have little sympathy with those who are prepared to "cure" the invert at any price. Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing, the best-known and most successful of these operators, seems to me to serve rather as a warning than as an example. He undertakes even the most pronounced cases of inversion by courses of treatment lasting more than a year, and involving, in at least one case, nearly one hundred and fifty hypnotic sittings; he prescribes frequent visits to the brothel, previous to which the patient takes large doses of alcohol; by prolonged manipulations a prostitute endeavors to excite erection, a process attended with varying results. It appears that in some cases this course of treatment has been attended by a certain sort of success, to which an unlimited goodwill on the part of the patient, it is needless to say, has largely contributed. The treatment is, however, usually interrupted by continual backsliding to homosexual practices, and sometimes, naturally, the cure involves a venereal disorder. The patient is enabled to marry and to beget children; how the children turn out it is yet too early to say.² Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing may certainly be congratulated on the time, patience, and energy which he devotes to his patients. Whether he may be congratulated on the treatment itself and its results is less certain. For my own part, I frankly confess that the remedy seems to me worse than the disease. The histories I have recorded in previous chapters show that it is not uncommon for even a pro-

¹ Reference may be made to the wise and comprehensive conclusions of Moll on this matter in his *Die Konträre Sexualempfindung*.

² Evidence on this point is, however, beginning to come in. Féré reports the case of an invert of great intellectual ability who had never had any sexual relationships, and was not averse from a chaste life; he was urged by his doctor to acquire the power of normal intercourse and to marry, on the ground that his perversion was merely a perversion of the imagination. He did so, and, though he married a perfectly strong and healthy woman, and was himself healthy, except in so far as his perversion was concerned, the offspring turned out disastrously. The eldest child was an epileptic, almost an imbecile, and with strongly marked homosexual impulses; the second and third children were absolute idiots; the youngest died of convulsions in infancy (Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, pp. 269 *et seq.*) No doubt this is scarcely an average case.

nounced invert to be able sometimes to effect coitus. It often becomes easy if at the time he fixes his thoughts on images connected with his own sex. But the perversion remains unaffected; the subject is merely (as one of Moll's inverts expressed it) practicing masturbation *per vaginam*. Such treatment is a training in vice, and, as Raffalovich points out, the invert is simply perverted and brought down to the vicious level which necessarily accompanies perversity.¹

The sexual invert is specially liable to suffer from a high degree of neurasthenia, often involving much nervous weakness and irritability, loss of self-control, and genital hyperæsthesia.² This is a condition which may be ameliorated, and it may be treated in much the same way as if no inversion existed, by physical and mental tonics, or, if necessary, sedatives; by regulated gymnastics and out-of-door exercises; and by occupations which employ, without overexerting, the mind. Very great and permanent benefit may be obtained by a prolonged course of such mental and physical hygiene; the associated neurasthenic conditions may be largely removed, with the morbid fears, suspicions, and irritabilities that are usually part of neurasthenia, and the invert may be brought into a fairly wholesome and tonic condition of self-control.

The inversion is not thus removed. Before deciding whether it is desirable to attempt so radical a change in the sexual impulse, it is necessary to have full knowledge of the patient and his history. If he is still young, and if the perversion does not appear to be deeply rooted in the organism, it is probable that—provided his own good-will is aiding—general hygienic measures, together with removal to a favorable environ-

¹ Raffalovich, *Uranisme et Unisexualité*, 1896, p. 16. He remarks that the congenital invert who has never had relations with women, and whose abnormality, to use Krafft-Ebing's distinction, is a perversion and not a perversity, is much less dangerous and apt to seduce others than the more versatile and corrupt person who has known all methods of gratification.

² Krafft-Ebing considers that the temporary or lasting association of homosexuality with neurasthenia having its root in congenital conditions is "almost invariable."

ment, may gradually lead to the development of the normal sexual impulse. If it fails to do so, it becomes necessary to exercise great caution in recommending stronger methods. A brothel, on which Schrenck-Notzing largely relies, is scarcely a desirable method of treatment from any point of view; to say no more, it is not calculated to attract an individual who is already inspired with disgust of women regarded as objects of desire. The assistance of an honest woman would be much better therapeutically, but it can very seldom be right and feasible to obtain the help of one who is likely to be successful. Purely "Platonic associations with the other sex," Moll points out, "leads to better results than any prescribed attempt at coitus."

While there is, no doubt, a temptation to aid those who are anxious for aid to get rid of their abnormality, it is not possible to look upon the results of such aid, even if successful, with much satisfaction. Not only is the acquisition of the normal instinct by an invert very much on a level with the acquisition of a vice, but probably it seldom succeeds in eradicating the original inverted instinct. What usually happens is that the person becomes capable of experiencing both impulses, not a specially satisfactory state of things.

Moreover, it is often not difficult prematurely to persuade an invert that his condition is changed; his health is perhaps improving, and if he experiences some slight attraction to a person of the opposite sex he hastily assumes that a deep and permanent change has occurred. This may be disastrous, especially if it leads to marriage, as it may do in an inverted man or still more easily in an inverted woman. The apparent change does not turn out to be deep, and the invert's position is more unfortunate than his original position, both for himself and for his wife.¹

¹ I have recently been told by a distinguished physician, who was consulted in the case, of a congenital invert highly placed in the English government service, who lately married in the hope of escaping his perversion, and was not even able to consummate the marriage. It is needless to insist on the misery which is created in such cases. It is not, of course, denied that such marriages may not sometimes become eventually happy. Thus Kiernan ("Psychical Treatment of Congenital Sexual In-

Nor is it possible to view with satisfaction the prospects of inverts begetting or bearing children. Often, no doubt, the children turn out fairly well, but, for the most part, they bear witness that they belong to a neurotic and failing stock. Sometimes, indeed, the tendency to sexual inversion in eccentric and neurotic families seems merely to be Nature's merciful method of winding up a concern which, from her point of view, has ceased to be profitable.

No doubt the physician is often strongly tempted to advise marriage and to promise that the normal heterosexual impulse will appear. There is but too much evidence demonstrating the rashness and folly of those who give such advice, and hold forth such promises, without duly guarded qualification and with no proper examination of the individual case. Certainly, provided that the woman is in full possession of all the facts, and provided also that she has sufficient experience of life to realize what she is undertaking to do, marriage may not be unhappy. Similarly in the case of an inverted woman. But the inadvisability of parenthood still remains, and such marriages can never be absolutely satisfactory.

As a rule, inverts have no desire to be different from what they are, and, if they have any desire for marriage, it is usually only momentary. Very pathetic appeals for help are, however, sometimes made. I may quote from a letter addressed to me by a gentleman who desired advice on this matter: "In part, I write to you as a moralist and, in part, as to a physician. Dr. Q. has published a book in which, without discussion, hypnotic treatment of such cases was reported as successful. I am eager to know if your opinion remains what it was. This new assurance comes from a man whose moral firmness and delicacy are unquestionable, but you will easily imagine how one might shrink from the implantation of new impulses in the unconscious self, since newly created inclinations might disturb the conditions of life. At any rate, in my ignorance of hypnotism I fear that the effort to give the normal

version," *Review of Insanity and Nervous Diseases*, June, 1894) reports the case of a thoroughly inverted girl who married the brother of the friend to whom she was previously attached merely in order to secure his sister's companionship. She was able to endure and even enjoy intercourse by imagining that her husband, who resembled his sister, was another sister. Liking and esteem for the husband gradually increased and after the sister died a child was born who much resembled her; "the wife's esteem passed through love of the sister to intense natural love of the daughter, as resembling the sister; through this to normal love of the husband as the father and brother." The final result may have been satisfactory, but this train of circumstances could not have been calculated beforehand.

instinct might lead to marriage without the assurance that the normal instinct would be stable. I write, therefore, to explain my present condition and crave your counsel. It is with the greatest reluctance that I reveal the closely guarded secret of my life. I have no other abnormality, and have not hitherto betrayed my abnormal instinct. I have never made any person the victim of passion: moral and religious feelings were too powerful. I have found my reverence for other souls a perfect safeguard against any approach to impurity. I have never had sexual interest in women. Once I had a great friendship with a beautiful and noble woman, without any mixture of sexual feeling on my part. I was ignorant of my condition, and I have the bitter regret of having caused in her a hopeless love—proudly and tragically concealed to her death. My friendships with men, younger men, have been colored by passion, against which I have fought continually. The shame of this has made life a hell, and the horror of this abnormality, since I came to know it as such, has been an enemy to my religious faith. Here there could be no case of a divinely given instinct which I was to learn to use in a rational and chaste fashion, under the control of spiritual loyalty. The power which gave me life seemed to insist on my doing that for which the same power would sting me with remorse. If there is no remedy I must either cry out against the injustice of this life of torment between nature and conscience, or submit to the blind trust of baffled ignorance. If there is a remedy life will not seem to be such an intolerable ordeal. I am not pleading that I must succumb to impulse, I do not doubt that a pure celibate life is possible so far as action is concerned. But I cannot discover that friendship with younger men can go on uncolored by a sensuous admixture which fills me with shame and loathing. The gratification of passion—normal or abnormal—is repulsive to esthetic feeling. I am nearly 42 and I have always diverted myself from personal interests that threatened to become dangerous to me. More than a year ago, however, a new fate seemed to open to my unhappy and lonely life. I became intimate with a young man of twenty, of the rarest beauty of form and character. I am confident that he is and always has been pure. He lives an exalted moral and religious life dominated by the idea that he and all men are partners of the divine nature, and able in the strength of that nature to be free from evil. I believe him to be normal. He shows pleasure in the society of attractive young women and in an innocent light-hearted way refers to the time when he may be able to marry. He is a general favorite, but turned to me as to a friend and teacher. He is poor, and it was possible for me to guarantee him a good education. I began to help him from the longings of a lonely life. I wanted a son and a friend in my inward desolation. I craved the companionship of this pure and happy nature. I felt such a reverence for him that I hoped to find the sensuous element in me purged away by

his purity. I am, indeed, utterly incapable of doing him harm; I am not morally weak; nevertheless the sensuous element is there, and it poisons my happiness. He is ardently affectionate and demonstrative. He spends the summers with me in Europe, and the tenderness he feels for me has prompted him at times to embrace and kiss me as he always has done to his father. Of late I have begun to fear that without will or desire I may injure the springs of feeling in him, especially if it is true that the homosexual tendency is latent in most men. The love he shows me is my joy, but a poisoned joy. It is the bread and wine of life to me; but I dare not think what his ardent affection might ripen into. I can go on fighting the battle of good and evil in my attachment to him, but I cannot define my duty to him. To shun him would be cruelty and would belie his trust in human fidelity. Without my friendship he will not take my money—the condition of a large career. I might, indeed, explain to him what I explain to you, but the ordeal and shame are too great, and I cannot see what good it would do. If he has the capacity of homosexual feeling he might be violently stimulated; if he is incapable of it, he would feel repulsion.

"Suppose, then, that I should seek hypnotic treatment, I still do not know what tricks an abnormal nature might play me when diverted by suggestion. I might lose the joy of this friendship without any compensation. I am afraid; I am afraid! Might I not be influenced to shun the only persons who inspire unselfish feeling?

"Bear with this account of my story. Many virtues are easy for me, and my life is spent in pursuits of culture. Alas, that all the culture with which I am credited, all the prayers and aspirations, all the strong will and heroic resolves have not rid my nature of this evil bent. What I long for is the right to love, not for the mere physical gratification, for the right to take another into the arms of my heart and profess all the tenderness I feel, to find my joy in planning his career with him, as one who is rightfully and naturally entitled to do so. I crave this since I cannot have a son. I leave the matter here.

"When I read what I have written I see how pointless it is. It is possible, indeed, that brooding over my personal calamity magnifies in my mind the sense of danger to this friend through me, and that I only need to find the right relation of friendliness coupled with aloofness which will secure him against any too ardent attachment. Certainly I have no fear that I shall forget myself. Yet two things array themselves on the other side: I rebel inwardly against the necessity of isolating myself as if I were a pestilence, and I rebel against the taint of sensuous feeling. The normal man can feel that his instinct is no shame when the spirit is in control. I know that to the consciousness of others my instinct itself would be a shame and a baseness, and I have no tendency to construct a moral system for myself. I have, to be sure, moments when I declare

to myself that I will have my sensuous gratification as well as other men, but, the moment I think of the wickedness of it, the rebellion is soon over. The disesteem of self, the sense of taint, the necessity of withdrawing from happiness lest I communicate my taint, that is a spiritual malady which makes the ground-tone of my existence one of pain and melancholy. Should you have only some moral consolation without the promise of medical assistance I should feel grateful."

In such a case as this one can do little more than advise the sufferer that, however painful his lot may be, it is not without its consolations, and that he would be best advised to pursue, as cheerfully as may be, the path that he has already long since marked out for himself. The invert sometimes fails to realize that for no man with high moral ideals, however normal he may be, is the conduct of life easy, and that if the invert has to be satisfied with affection without passion, and to live a life of chastity, he is doing no more than thousands of normal men have done, voluntarily and contentedly. As to hypnotism in such a case as this, it is altogether unreasonable to expect that suggestion will supplant the deeply-rooted organic impulses that have grown up during a life-time.

I may be permitted to mention here that, since the first edition of this book appeared, Moll has expressed himself in almost identical terms regarding Schrenck-Notzing's method of treatment (A. Moll, "Die Behandlung der Homosexualität," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, B. 2, 1900, p. 22. Cf., also, the same author's *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, 1899, pp. 459 et seq.). Moll's opinion is the more valuable since he is the author of one of the most thorough and judicious studies of hypnotism that have yet appeared. He believes that hypnotism may be useful in certain cases of homosexuality, but only in certain cases. He points out, also, that it is by no means easy to suggest normal sexual relationships to an invert during hypnosis, and brings forward a case in which the patient resisted such suggestions even when in the deep stage of hypnosis. Moll also expresses himself as decidedly opposed to the marriage of inverts.

Féré, again, has recently expressed himself concerning the general treatment of homosexuality in the same sense as I have done, and even more emphatically (Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, 1899, pp. 272, 286). He considers that all forms of congenital inversion resist treatment, and that, since a change in the invert's instincts must be regarded rather as a perversion of the invert than a cure of the inversion, one may be permitted to doubt not only the utility of the treatment, but even the legitimacy of attempting it. The treatment of sexual inversion, he declares, is as much outside the province of medicine as the restoration of color-vision in the color-blind. The ideal which the physician and the teacher must place before the invert is that of chastity; he must seek to harness his wagon to a star.

We can seldom, therefore, safely congratulate ourselves on the success of any "cure" of inversion. The success is unlikely to be either permanent or complete, in the case of a decided invert; and in the most successful cases we have simply put into the invert's hands a power of reproduction which it is undesirable he should possess. The most satisfactory result is probably obtained if it is possible by direct and indirect methods to reduce the sexual hyperesthesia which usually exists when the medical treatment of inversion comes into question, and by psychic methods to refine and spiritualize the inverted impulse, so that the invert's natural perversion may not become a cause of acquired perversity in others. The invert is not only the victim of his own abnormal obsession, he is the victim of social hostility. We must seek to distinguish the part in his sufferings due to these two causes. When I review the cases I have brought forward and the mental history of inverts I have known, I am inclined to say that if we can enable an invert to be healthy, self-restrained, and self-respecting, we have often done better than to convert him into the mere feeble simulacrum of a normal man. An appeal to the *paiderastia* of the best Greek days, and the dignity, temperance, even chastity, which it involved, will sometimes find a ready response in the emotional, enthusiastic nature of the congenital invert. The "manly love" celebrated by Walt Whitman in *Leaves of Grass*, although it may be of more doubtful value for general use, furnishes a wholesome and robust ideal to the invert who is insensitive to normal ideals.¹ It is by some such method of self-treatment as this that most of the more highly intelligent men and women whose histories I have already briefly recorded have at last slowly and instinctively reached a condition of relative health and peace, both physical and moral. The method of self-restraint and self-culture, without self-repression, seems to be the most rational method of dealing with sexual inversion when that condition is really organic and deeply

¹ In this connection I may mention a forthcoming book entitled *Ioläus: an Anthology of Friendship*, edited by Edward Carpenter, not touching directly on sex matters, but dealing with the romance of friendship.

rooted. It is better that a man should be enabled to make the best of his own strong natural instincts, with all their disadvantages, than that he should be unsexed and perverted, crushed into a position which he has no natural aptitude to occupy. As both Raffalovich and Féré have lately insisted, it is the ideal of chastity, rather than of normal sexuality, which the congenital invert should hold before his eyes. He may not have in him the making of *l'homme moyen sensuel*; he may have in him the making of a saint. What good work in the world the inverted may do is shown by the historical examples of distinguished inverts; and, while it is certainly true that these considerations apply chiefly to the finer-grained natures, the histories I have brought together suffice to show that such natures constitute a considerable proportion of inverts. The helplessly gross sexual appetite cannot thus be influenced; but that remains true whether the appetite is homosexual or heterosexual, and nothing is gained by enabling it to feed on women as well as on men.

We have always to remember, and there is, indeed, no possibility of forgetting, that the question of homosexuality is a social question. Within certain limits, the gratification of the normal sexual impulse, even outside marriage, arouses no general or profound indignation; and is regarded as a private matter; rightly or wrongly, the gratification of the homosexual impulse is regarded as a public matter. This attitude is more or less exactly reflected in the law. Thus it happens that whenever a man is openly detected in a homosexual act, however exemplary his life may previously have been, however admirable it may still be in all other relations, every ordinary normal citizen, however licentious and pleasure-loving his own life may be, feels it a moral duty to regard the offender as hopelessly damned and to help in hounding him out of society. At very brief intervals cases occur, and without reaching the newspapers are more or less widely known, in which distinguished men in various fields, not seldom clergymen, suddenly disappear from the country or commit suicide in consequence of some such exposure or the threat of it. It is probable that many obscure tragedies could find their explanation in a homosexual cause.

Some of the various tragic ways in which homosexual passions are revealed to society may be illustrated by the following communication from a correspondent, not himself inverted, who here narrates cases that came under his observation in various parts of the United States. The cases referred to will be known to many, but I have disguised the names of persons and places:—

"At the age of 14 I was a chorister at ——— church, whose choir-master, an Englishman named M. W. M., was an accomplished man, seemingly a perfect gentleman, and a devout churchman. He never seemed to care for the society of ladies, never mingled much with the men, but sought companionship with the choristers of my age. He frequently visited at the homes of his favorites, to tea, and when he asked the parents' consent for George's or Frank's company on an excursion or to the theater, and then to spend the night with him, such request was invariably granted. I shall ever remember my first night with him; he began by fondling and caressing me, quieting my alarm by assurances of not hurting me, and after invoking me to secrecy and with promises of many future pleasures, I consented to his desire or passion, which he seemed to satisfy by an attempt at *fellatio*. Was this depravity? I would say 'No!' after reading his subsequent confession, found in his room after his death by suicide. This was brought about by his too intimate relations with the rector's son who contracted St. Vitus's dance and in the delirium of a fever that followed from nervous exhaustion told of him and his doings. A thorough investigation took place and M. fled, a broken-hearted and disgraced man, who, as the result of remorse, relentless persecution, and exposure through several years, ended his life by drowning himself. In his confession he spoke of having been raised under a strong moral restraint and having lived an exemplary life, with the exception of this strange desire that his will-power could not control.

"The next case is that of C. H. He came of an old family of brainy men who have, and do yet, occupy prominent places in the pulpit and the bar, and was himself a gifted young attorney. I knew him intimately, as for six years he was a close neighbor and we were associated in lodge-work. He was an effeminate little fellow: height, 5 feet 2 inches; weight, 105 pounds; very near-sighted; and had a light voice, not a treble or falsetto, but still a voice that detracted materially from the beautiful rhetoric that flowed from his lips. He had served his country as its representative in the Legislature and had received the nomination for senator, over a hard-fought political battle. The last canvass and speeches were made at a town which was, in consequence, crowded. That night H. had to occupy a room with a stranger, named E., a traveling salesman. There were two beds in this room. Mr. E., on the following day told several people that during the night he was awakened by H., who had come over to his bed and had his mouth on his 'person,' and that he had

threatened to kick him out of the room, but that H. pleaded with him and fell on his knees and swore that he had been overcome by a passion that he had heretofore controlled, and begged of him not to expose him. These facts coming to the notice of his opponents, within twenty-four hours, they hastened to take advantage of it by placarding H. as a second Oscar Wilde, and stating the facts as far as decency and the law allowed. H.'s friends came to him and gave him one of two alternatives: if guilty, either to kill himself or leave that section forever; if not guilty, to slay his traducer, E. H. affirmed his innocence, and in company with two friends, C. and J., took the train for ——. Learning there that E. was at a town twelve miles east, they hired a fast livery and drove overland. They found E. at the station, awaiting the arrival of a train. H., with a pistol, strode forward and in his excitement said: 'You exposed me, did you?' Being near-sighted, his aim proved wide of its mark. E. sprang forward and grappled with H. for possession of the pistol, and was fired upon by C. and J., who shot him in the back. He expired in a few minutes, his last statement being to the effect that H. was guilty as accused. H., C., and J. were sentenced to the penitentiary for life. During my six years' acquaintance with H. I knew of nothing derogatory to his character, nor has anyone ever come forward to say that on any other occasion he ever displayed this weakness. I know his early life had a pure atmosphere, as he was an only child and the idol of both his parents, who builded high their hopes of his future success, and who survive this disgrace, but are broken-hearted.

"The next case is that of the Rev. T. W., professor at the University of ——. Mr. W. is a scholarly gentleman, affable in his address, eloquent in his oratory, and a fine classical scholar. He was exposed by some of his students, who, to use a slang phrase, accused him of being a 'head-worker.' At his examination by the faculty he confessed his weakness, and said he could not control his unholy passion. His resignation was accepted both by the church and the college, and he left.

"I know of a few other cases that have their peculiar traits, and am confident that these persons did not become possessed of this habit through the so-called 'indiscretions of youth,' as in every case their early life was freer from contamination than that of 90 per cent. of the boys who, on reaching man's estate, have, like myself, no desire to deviate from the old-fashioned way formulated by our ancient sire, Adam."

It can scarcely be said that the consciousness of this attitude of society is favorable to the invert's attainment of a fairly sane and well-balanced state of mind. This is, indeed, one of the great difficulties in his way, and often causes him to waver between extremes of melancholia and egotistic exaltation. We

regard all homosexuality with absolute and unmitigated disgust. We have been taught to venerate Alexander the Great, Epaminondas, Socrates, and other antique heroes; but they are safely buried in the remote past, and do not affect our scorn of homosexuality in the present. There is undoubtedly a deeply founded reason for this horror and disgust, although in England it has only appeared during the last few centuries. Our modern attitude is sometimes traced back to the Jewish law and its survival in St. Paul's opinion on this matter. But the Jewish law itself had a foundation. Wherever the enlargement of the population becomes a strongly felt social need,—as it was among the Jews in their exaltation of family-life, and as it was when the European nations were constituted,—there homosexuality has been regarded as a crime, even punishable with death. The Incas of ancient Peru, in the fury of their devastation, even destroyed a whole town where sodomy had once been detected. I do not know if it has been pointed out before that there seems to be a certain relationship between the social reaction against homosexuality and against infanticide. Where the one is regarded leniently and favorably, there generally the other is also; where the one is stamped out, the other is usually stamped out. Even the forceful Normans could not go against the stream and obtain recognition for their strong homosexual instincts anywhere in Europe, except apparently in England, where legislation against sodomy, beginning under Henry VIII, has a somewhat special and recent origin.

It was in the fourth century, at Rome, that the strong modern opposition to homosexuality was first clearly formulated in law.¹ The Roman race had long been decaying; sexual perversions of all kinds flourished; the population was dwindling. At the same time, Christianity, with its Judaic-Pauline antagonism to homosexuality, was rapidly spreading. The statesmen of the day, anxious to quicken the failing pulses of national life, util-

¹ Roman law previously seems to have been confined in this matter to the protection of boys.

ized this powerful Christian feeling. Constantine, Theodosius, and Valentinian all passed laws against homosexuality, the last, at all events, ordaining as penalty the *vindices flammæ*; but their enactments do not seem to have been strictly carried out. In the year 538, Justinian, professing terror of certain famines, earthquakes, and pestilences in which he saw the mysterious "recompense which was meet" prophesied by St. Paul,¹ issued his edict condemning unnatural offenders to the sword, "lest as the result of these impious acts" (as the preamble to his Novella 77 has it) "whole cities should perish, together with their inhabitants; for we are taught by Holy Scripture that through these acts cities have perished with the men in them."² This edict (which Justinian followed up by a fresh ordinance to the same effect) constituted the foundation of legal enactment and social opinion concerning the matter in Europe for thirteen hundred years.³ In France the *vindices flammæ* survived to the last; St. Louis had handed over these sacrilegious offenders to the Church to be burned; in 1750 two pederasts were burned in the Place de Grève, and only a few years before the Revolution a capuchin monk named Pascal was also burned.

After the Revolution, however, began a new movement, which has continued slowly and steadily ever since, though it still divides European nations into two groups. Justinian, Charlemagne, and St. Louis had insisted on the sin and sacrilege of sodomy as the ground for its punishment. It was doubtless largely as a religious offense that the *Code Napoléon* omitted to punish it. The French law makes a clear and logical distinction between crime on the one hand, vice and irreligion on the

¹ Epistle to the Romans, Chapter I, verses 26-7.

² In practice this penalty of death appears to have been sometimes commuted to ablation of the sexual organs.

³ For a full sketch of the legal enactments against homosexual intercourse in ancient and modern times, see Numa Praetorius, "Die straflichen Bestimmungen gegen den gleichgeschlechtlichen Verkehr," *Jahrbuch für sexuellen Zwischenstufen*, B. I, pp. 97-158. This writer points out that Justinian, and still more clearly, Pius V, in the sixteenth century, distinguished between occasional homosexuality and deep-rooted inversion, habitual offenders alone, not those who had only been guilty once or twice, being punished.

other, only concerning itself with the former. Homosexual practices in private, between two consenting adult parties, whether men or women, are absolutely unpunished by the *Code Napoléon* and by French law of to-day. Only under three conditions does the homosexual act come under the cognizance of the law as a crime: (1) when there is *outrage public à la pudeur*, —i.e., when the act is performed in public or with a possibility of witnesses; (2) when there is violence or absence of consent, in whatever degree the act may have been consummated; (3) when one of the parties is under age, or unable to give valid consent; in some cases it appears possible to apply Article 334 of the penal code, directed against habitual excitation to debauch of young persons of either sex under the age of 21.¹

This method of dealing with unnatural offenses has spread widely through Europe, in the early part of the century because of the political influence of France, and more recently because such an attitude has commended itself on its merits. In Belgium and in Holland the law is similar to that of the *Code Napoléon*, as it is also in Spain and Portugal. The new Italian Code of 1889 has also adopted the provisions of the French Code. In Switzerland the law is a little vague and varies slightly in the different cantons, but it is not severe; in Geneva and some other cantons there appears to be no penalty; the general tendency is to inflict brief imprisonment when serious complaints have been lodged, and cases can sometimes be settled privately by the magistrate.²

The only European countries in which homosexuality *per se* remains a penal offense appear to be Germany, Austria, Russia, and England. In several of the German States, such as Bavaria and Hanover, simple homosexuality formerly went unpunished, but when the laws of Prussia were in 1871 applied to the new

¹ See Chevalier, *L'Inversion Sexuelle*, 1893, pp. 431 *et seq.*

² In the projected Swiss Code lately drawn up by a commission of experts at Bern the influence of the French Code is again felt; offences against public decency are punishable by fine or imprisonment, and an adult guilty of unnatural practices (*widernatürliche Unzucht*) with a minor is punishable by imprisonment for at least six months. Homosexual practices *per se* are not mentioned (*Vorentwurf zu einem Schweizerischen Strafgesetzbuch*, Cap. V, 1896).

German Empire this ceased to be the case, and unnatural carnality between males became an offense against the law. This article of the German Code (Section 175) has caused great discussion and much practical difficulty, because, although the terms of the law make it necessary to understand by *widernatürliche Unzucht* other practices besides *pædicatio*, not every homosexual practice is included; it must be some practice resembling normal coitus. There is a wide-spread opinion that this article of the code should be abolished; it appears that at one time an authoritative committee—comprising names of such weight as von Langenbeck, Virchow, Bardeleben, and A. W. Hoffmann—pronounced in favor of this step, and their proposition came near adoption. The Austrian law is somewhat similar to the German, but it applies to women as well as to men; this is logical, for there is no reason why homosexuality should be punished in men and left unpunished in women; but the scheme of penal reform in Austria proposes to omit reference to women and at the same time greatly to diminish the maximum punishment assigned to this offense in men. In Russia the law against homosexual practices appears to be very severe, involving banishment to Siberia and deprivation of civil rights; but it can scarcely be rigorously executed.

The existing law in England is severe, but simple. Carnal knowledge *per anum* of either a man or a woman or an animal is a felony (under 24 and 25 Vict., c. 100, sec. 61) punishable by penal servitude for life as a maximum and ten years as a minimum; the attempt at such carnal knowledge is punishable by ten years' penal servitude. The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 goes beyond this, and makes even "gross indecency" between males, however privately committed, a penal offense.¹ The Criminal Law Amendment Act is in many respects an admirable enactment: to it we owe the raising of the age at which

¹ "Any male person who in public or private commits, or is a party to the commission of, or procures or attempts to procure the commission by any male person of, any act of gross indecency with another male person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, being convicted thereof, shall be liable at the discretion of the court to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labor."

it becomes lawful for a woman to consent to sexual intercourse from over twelve to over sixteen. But this Act appears to have been somewhat hastily carried through, and many of its provisions, as well as its omissions, have been justly subjected to severe criticism. The clause from which I have quoted is specially open to criticism. With the omission of the words "or private," the clause would be sound and in harmony with the most enlightened European legislation; but it must be pointed out that an act only becomes indecent when those who perform it or witness it regard it as indecent. The act which brought each of us into the world is not indecent; it would become so if carried on in public. If two male persons, who have reached years of discretion, consent together to perform some act of sexual intimacy in private, no indecency has been committed. If one of the consenting parties subsequently proclaims the act, indecency may doubtless be created, as may happen also in the case of normal sexual intercourse, but it seems contrary to good policy that such proclamation should convert the act itself into a penal offense. Moreover, "gross indecency" between males usually means some form of mutual masturbation; no penal code regards masturbation as an offense, and there seems to be no sufficient reason why mutual masturbation should be so regarded.¹ The main point to be insured is that no boy or girl who has not reached years of discretion should be seduced or abused by an older person, and this point is equally well guaranteed on the basis introduced by the *Code Napoléon*. However shameful, disgusting, personally immoral, and indirectly antisocial it may be for two adult persons of the same sex, men or women, to consent together to perform an act of sexual intimacy in private, there is no sound or adequate ground for constituting such act a penal offense by law.

One of the most serious objections to the legal recognition of private "gross indecency" is the obvious fact that only in the

¹ This point is brought forward by Dr. Léon de Rode in his report on "L'Inversion Génitale et la Législation," prepared for the Third (Brussels) Congress of Criminal Anthropology in 1892. The same point is insisted on by some of my correspondents.

rarest cases can such indecency become known to the police, and we thus perpetrate what is very much like a legal farce. "The breaking of few laws," as Moll truly observes, regarding the German law, "so often goes unpunished as of this." It is the same in England, as is amply evidenced by the fact that, of the sexual inverts, some forty in number, whose histories I have obtained, not one, so far as I am aware, has ever appeared in a police-court on this charge. This impunity can only lead to a contempt for law generally. Such an attitude is distinctly opposed to good social polity.

It may further be pointed out that legislation against homosexuality has no clear effect either in diminishing or increasing its prevalence. This must necessarily be so as regards the kernel of the homosexual group, if we are to regard a considerable proportion of cases as congenital. In France homosexuality *per se* has been untouched by the law for a century, yet it abounds, chiefly, it seems, among the lowest in the community; although the law is silent, social feeling is strong, and when—as has been the case in one instance—a man of undoubted genius has his name associated with this perversion it becomes difficult or impossible for the admirers of his work to associate with him personally; very few cases of homosexuality have been recorded in France among the more intelligent classes; the literature of homosexuality is there little more than the literature of male prostitution, as described by police-officials, and as carried on largely for the benefit of foreigners.¹ In Germany and Austria, where the law against homosexuality is severe, it abounds also, probably to a much greater extent than in France; it certainly asserts itself more vigorously; a far greater number of cases have

¹ It is a remarkable and perhaps significant fact that, while homosexuality is to-day in absolute disrepute in France, it was not so under the less tolerant law of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Duc de Gesvres, as described by Besenval (*Mémoires*, i, p. 178), was a well-marked invert of feminine type, impotent, and publicly affecting all the manners of women; yet he was treated with consideration. In 1687 Madame, the mother of the Regent, writes implying that "all the young men and many of the old" practiced pederasty: *il n'y a que les gens du commun qui aiment les femmes*. The marked tendency to inversion in the French royal family at this time is well known.

been recorded than in any other country, and the German literature of homosexuality is very extensive, often issued in popular form, and sometimes enthusiastically eulogistic.¹ In England the law is exceptionally severe; yet, according to the evidence of those who have an international acquaintance with these matters, homosexuality is fully as prevalent as on the Continent; some would say that it is more so. It cannot, therefore, be said that legislative enactments have very much influence on the prevalence of homosexuality. The chief effect seems to be that the attempt at suppression arouses the finer minds among sexual inverts to undertake the enthusiastic defense of homosexuality, while coarser minds are stimulated to cynical bravado.²

The Oscar Wilde trial, with its wide publicity, and the fundamental nature of the questions it suggested, appears to have generally contributed to give definiteness and self-consciousness to the manifestations of homosexuality, and to have aroused inverts to take up a definite attitude. (For an account of this case see Raffalovich, *L'Uranisme*, pp. 241 *et seq.*) I have been assured in several quarters that this is so and that since that case the manifestations of homosexuality have become more pronounced. One correspondent writes:—

"Up to the time of the Oscar Wilde trial I had not known what the condition of the law was. The moral question in itself—its relation to my own life and that of my friends—I reckoned I had solved; but I now had to ask myself how far I was justified in not only breaking the law, but in being the cause of a like breach in others, and others younger than myself. I have never allowed the *dictum* of the law to interfere with what I deemed to be a moral development in any youth for whom I am responsible. I cannot say that the trial made me alter my course of life, of the rightness of which I was too convincingly persuaded, but it made me much more careful, and it probably sharpened my sense of responsibility for the young. Reviewing the results of the trial as a whole, it doubtless did incalculable harm, and it intensified our national vice of hypocrisy. But I think it also may have done some good in that it made those who, like myself, have thought and experienced deeply in

¹ Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* cannot fairly be regarded as eulogistic or popular in form; it has, however, had a very wide and unrestricted sale.

² A man with homosexual habits, I have been told, declared he would be sorry to see the English law changed, as then he would find no pleasure in his practices.

the matter—and there must be no small few—ready to strike a blow, when the time comes, for what we deem to be right, honorable, and clean.”

From America a lady writes with reference to the moral position of inverts, though without allusion to the Wilde trial:—

“Inverts should have the courage and independence to be themselves, and to demand an investigation. If one strives to live honorably, and considers the greatest good to the greatest number, it is not a crime nor a disgrace to be an invert. I do not need the law to defend me, neither do I desire to have any concessions made for me, nor do I ask my friends to sacrifice their ideals for me. I too have ideals which I shall always hold. All that I desire—and I claim it as my right—is the freedom to exercise this divine gift of loving, which is not a menace to society nor a disgrace to me. Let it once be understood that the average invert is not a moral degenerate nor a mental degenerate, but simply a man or a woman who is less highly specialized, less completely differentiated, than other men and women, and I believe the prejudice against them will disappear, and if they live uprightly they will surely win the esteem and consideration of all thoughtful people. I know what it means to an invert—who feels himself set apart from the rest of mankind—to find one human heart who trusts him and understands him, and I know how almost impossible this is, and will be, until the world is made aware of these facts.”

But, while the law has had no more influence in repressing abnormal sexuality than, wherever it has tried to do so, it has had in repressing the normal sexual instinct, it has served to foster another offense. What is called blackmailing in England, *chantage* in France, and *Erpressung* in Germany—in other words, the extortion of money by threats of exposing some real or fictitious offense—finds its chief field of activity in connection with homosexuality. No doubt the removal of the penalty against simple homosexuality does not abolish blackmailing, as the existence of this kind of *chantage* in France shows, but it renders its success less probable.

On all these grounds, and taking into consideration the fact that the tendency of modern legislation generally, and the consensus of authoritative opinion in all countries, are in this direction, I am of opinion that neither “sodomy” (*i.e.*, *immissio membri in anum hominis vel mulieris*) nor “gross indecency” ought to be penal offenses, except under certain special circumstances. That is to say, that if two persons of either or both

sexes, having reached years of discretion,¹ privately consent to practice some perverted mode of sexual relationship, the law cannot be called upon to interfere. It should be the function of the law in this matter to prevent violence, to protect the young, and to preserve public order and decency. Whatever laws are laid down beyond this must be left to the individuals themselves, to the moralist, and to social opinion.

At the same time, and while such a modification in the law seems to be reasonable, the change effected would be less considerable than may appear at first sight. In a very large proportion, indeed, of cases boys are involved. It is instructive to observe that in Legludic's 246 cases (including victims and aggressors together) in France, 127, or more than half, were between the ages of 10 and 20, and 82, or exactly one-third, were between the ages of 10 and 14. A very considerable field of operation is thus still left for the law, whatever proportion of cases may meet with no other penalty than social opinion.

That, however, social opinion—law or no law—will speak with no uncertain voice is very evident. I do not know whether it has been pointed out that in the evolution of culture the popular attitude toward homosexuality has passed through three different stages, roughly corresponding to the stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization. At first it is primarily an aspect of economics, a question of under- or over- population, and is forbidden or allowed accordingly. Then (as throughout the Middle Ages from the time of Justinian) it becomes primarily a matter of religion, and thus an act of sacrilege. Now we hear little either of its economic aspects or of its sacrilegiousness; it is for us primarily a disgusting abomination, *i.e.*, a matter of taste, of esthetics; and, while unspeakably ugly to the majority, it is proclaimed as beautiful by a small minority. I do not know that we need find fault with this esthetic method of judging homosexuality. But it scarcely lends itself to legal purposes. To indulge in violent denunciation of the disgusting nature of homosexual-

¹ Krafft-Ebing would place this age not under 16, the age at which in England girls may legally consent to normal sexual intercourse (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, 1893, p. 419). It certainly should not be lower.

ity, and to measure the sentence by the disgust aroused, or to regret, as one English judge is reported to have regretted when giving sentence, that "gross indecency" is not punishable by death, is to import utterly foreign considerations into the matter. The judges who yield to this temptation would certainly never allow themselves to be consciously influenced on the bench by their political opinions. Yet esthetic opinions are quite as foreign to law as political opinions. An act does not become criminal because it is disgusting. To eat excrement, as Moll remarks, is extremely disgusting, but it is not criminal. The confusion which thus exists, even in the legal mind, between the disgusting and the criminal is additional evidence of the undesirability of the legal penalty for simple homosexuality. At the same time it shows that social opinion is most amply adequate to deal with the manifestations of inverted sexuality. So much for the legal aspects of sexual inversion.

But while there can be no doubt about the amply adequate character of the existing social reaction to all manifestations of perverted sexuality, the question still remains how far not merely the law, but also the state of public opinion, should be modified in the light of such a psychological study as we have here undertaken. It is clear that this public opinion, molded chiefly or entirely with reference to gross vice, tends to be unduly violent in its reaction. What, then, is the reasonable attitude of society toward the congenital sexual invert? It seems to lie in the avoidance of two extremes. On the one hand, it cannot be expected to tolerate the invert who flouts his perversion in its face and assumes that, because he would rather take his pleasure with a soldier or a policeman than with their sisters, he is of finer clay than the vulgar herd. On the other, it might well refrain from crushing with undiscerning ignorance beneath a burden of shame the subject of an abnormality which, as we have seen, has not been found incapable of fine uses. Inversion is an aberration from the usual course of nature. But the clash of contending elements which must often mark the history of such a deviation results now and again—by no means infrequently—in nobler activities than those yielded by the vast majority who are born to

consume the fruits of the earth. It bears, for the most part, its penalty in the structure of its own organism. We are bound to protect the helpless members of society against the invert. If we go further, and seek to destroy the invert himself before he has sinned against society, we exceed the warrant of reason, and in so doing we may, perhaps, destroy also those children of the spirit which possess sometimes a greater worth than the children of the flesh.

Here we may leave this question of sexual inversion. In dealing with it I have sought to avoid that attitude of moral superiority which is so common in the literature of this subject, and have refrained from pointing out how loathsome this phenomenon is, or how hideous that. Such an attitude is as much out of place in scientific investigation as it is in judicial investigation, and may well be left to the amateur. The physician who feels nothing but disgust at the sight of disease is unlikely to bring either succor to his patients or instruction to his pupils.

That the investigation we have here pursued is not only profitable to us in succoring the social organism and its members, but also in bringing light into the region of sexual psychology, is now, I hope, clear to every reader who has followed me to this point. There are a multitude of social questions which we cannot face squarely and honestly unless we possess such precise knowledge as has been here brought together concerning the part played by the homosexual tendency in human life. Moreover, the study of this perverted tendency stretches beyond itself;

"O'er that art
Which you say adds to Nature, is an art
That Nature makes."

Pathology is but physiology working under new conditions. The stream of Nature still flows into the bent channel of sexual inversion, and still runs according to law. We have not wasted our time in this toilsome excursion. With the knowledge here gained we are the better equipped to enter upon the study of the wider questions of sex.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

HOMOSEXUALITY AMONG TRAMPS.

BY JOSIAH FLYNT.

I HAVE made a rather minute study of the tramp class in the United States, England, and Germany, but I know it best in the States. I have lived with the tramps there for eight consecutive months, besides passing numerous shorter periods in their company, and my acquaintance with them is nearly of ten years' standing. My purpose in going among them has been to learn about their life in particular and outcast life in general. This can only be done by becoming part and parcel of its manifestations.

There are two kinds of tramps in the United States: out-of-works and "hoboes." The out-of-works are not genuine vagabonds; they really want work and have no sympathy with the hoboes. The latter are the real tramps. They make a business of begging—a very good business too—and keep at it, as a rule, to the end of their days. Whisky and *Wanderlust*, or the love of wandering, are probably the main causes of their existence; but many of them are discouraged criminals, men who have tried their hand at crime and find that they lack criminal wit. They become tramps because they find that life "on the road" comes the nearest to the life they hoped to lead. They have enough talent to do very well as beggars, better, generally speaking, than the men who have reached the road simply as drunkards; they know more about the tricks of the trade and are cleverer in thinking out schemes and stories. All genuine tramps in America are, however, pretty much the same, as far

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as manners and philosophy are concerned, and all are equally welcome at the "hang-out."¹ The class of society from which they are drawn is generally the very lowest of all, but there are some hoboes who have come from the very highest, and these latter are frequently as vicious and depraved as their less well born brethren.

Concerning sexual inversion among tramps, there is a great deal to be said, and I cannot attempt to tell all I have heard about it, but merely to give a general account of the matter. Every hobo in the United States knows what "unnatural intercourse" means, talking about it freely, and, according to my finding, every tenth man practices it, and defends his conduct. Boys are the victims of this passion. The tramps gain possession of these boys in various ways. A common method is to stop for awhile in some town, and gain acquaintance with the slum children. They tell these children all sorts of stories about life "on the road," how they can ride on the railways for nothing, shoot Indians, and be "perfeshunnels" (professionals), and they choose some boy who specially pleases them. By smiles and flattering caresses they let him know that the stories are meant for him alone, and before long, if the boy is a suitable subject, he smiles back just as slily. In time he learns to think that he is the favorite of the tramp, who will take him on his travels, and he begins to plan secret meetings with the man. The tramp, of course, continues to excite his imagination with stories and caresses, and some fine night there is one boy less in the town. On the road the lad is called a "prushun," and his protector a "jocker." The majority of prushuns are between ten and fifteen years of age, but I have known some under ten and a few over fifteen. Each is compelled by hobo law to let his jocker do with him as he will, and many, I fear, learn to enjoy his treatment of them. They are also expected to beg in every town they come to, any laziness on their part receiving very severe punishment.

¹ This is the home of the fraternity. Practically it is any corner where they can lay their heads; but, as a rule, it is either a lodging-house, a freight-car, or a nest in the grass near the railway watering-tank.

How the act of unnatural intercourse takes place is not entirely clear; the hoboes are not agreed. From what I have personally observed I should say that it is usually what they call "leg-work" (intercrural), but sometimes *immissio penis in anum*, the boy, in either case, lying on his stomach. I have heard terrible stories of the physical results to the boy of anal intercourse.

One evening, near Cumberland, Pennsylvania, I was an unwilling witness of one of the worst scenes that can be imagined. In company with eight hoboes, I was in a freight-car attached to a slowly-moving train. A colored boy succeeded in scrambling into the car, and when the train was well under way again he was tripped up and "seduced" (to use the hobo euphemism) by each of the tramps. He made almost no resistance, and joked and laughed about the business as if he had expected it. This, indeed, I find to be the general feeling among the boys when they have been thoroughly initiated. At first they do not submit, and are inclined to run away or fight, but the men fondle and pet them, and after awhile they do not seem to care. Some of them have told me that they get as much pleasure out of the affair as the jocker does. Even little fellows under ten have told me this, and I have known them to willfully tempt their jockers to intercourse. What the pleasure consists in I cannot say. The youngsters themselves describe it as a delightful tickling sensation in the parts involved, and this is possibly all that it amounts to among the smallest lads. Those who have passed the age of puberty seem to be satisfied in pretty much the same way that the men are. Among the men the practice is decidedly one of passion. The majority of them prefer a prushun to a woman, and nothing is more severely judged than rape. One often reads in the newspapers that a woman has been assaulted by a tramp, but the perverted tramp is never the guilty party.

I believe, however, that there are a few hoboes who have taken to boys because women are so scarce "on the road." For every woman in hoboland there are a hundred men. That this disproportion has something to do with the popularity of boys is made clear by the following case: In a gaol, where I was

confined for a month during my life in vagabondage, I got acquainted with a tramp who had the reputation of being a "sod" (sodomist). One day a woman came to the gaol to see her husband, who was awaiting trial. One of the prisoners said he had known her before she was married and had lived with her. The tramp was soon to be discharged, and he inquired where the woman lived. On learning that she was still approachable, he looked her up immediately after his release, and succeeded in staying with her for nearly a month. He told me later that he enjoyed his life with her much more than his intercourse with boys. I asked him why he went with boys at all, and he replied: "'Cause there ain't women enough. If I can't get them I've got to have the other."

It is in gaols that one sees the worst side of this perversion. In the day-time the prisoners are let out into a long hall, and can do much as they please; at night they are shut up, two and even four in a cell. If there are any boys in the crowd, they are made use of by all who care to have them. If they refuse to submit, they are gagged and held down. The sheriff seldom knows what goes on, and for the boys to say anything to him would be suicidal. There is a criminal ignorance all over the States concerning the life of these gaols, and things go on that would be impossible in any well-regulated prison. In one of these places I once witnessed the fiercest fight I have ever seen among hoboes; a boy was the cause of it. Two men said they loved him, and he seemed to return the affection of both with equal desire. A fight with razors was suggested to settle who should have him.¹ The men prepared for action, while the crowd gathered round to watch. They slashed away for over half an hour, cutting each other terribly, and then their backers stopped them for fear of fatal results. The boy was given to the one who was hurt the least.

Jealousy is one of the first things one notices in connection

¹ All hoboes carry razors, both for shaving and for defense. Strange to say, they succeed in smuggling them into gaols, as they are never searched thoroughly.

with this passion. I have known them to withdraw entirely from the "hang-out" life simply to be sure that their prushuns were not touched by other tramps. Such attachments frequently last for years, and some boys remain with their first jockers until they are "emancipated."

Emancipation means freedom to "snare" some other boy, and make him submit as the other had been obliged to submit when younger. As a rule, the prushun is freed when he is able to protect himself. If he can defend his "honor" from all who come, he is accepted into the class of "old stagers," and may do as he likes. This is the one reward held out to prushuns during their apprenticeship. They are told that some day they can have a boy and use him as they have been used. Thus hoboland is always sure of recruits.

It is difficult to say how many tramps are sexually inverted. It is not even certainly known how many vagabonds there are in the country. I have stated in one of my papers on tramps that, counting the boys, there are between fifty and sixty thousand genuine hoboes in the United States. A vagabond in Texas who saw this statement wrote me that he considered my estimate too low. The newspapers have criticised it as too high, but they are unable to judge. If my figures are, as I believe, approximately correct, the sexually perverted tramps may be estimated at between five and six thousand; this includes men and boys.

I have been told lately by tramps that the boys are less numerous than they were a few years ago. They say that it is now a risky business to be seen with a boy, and that it is more profitable, as far as begging is concerned, to go without them. Whether this means that the passion is less fierce than it used to be, or that the men find sexual satisfaction among themselves, I cannot say definitely. But from what I know of their disinclination to adopt the latter alternative, I am inclined to think that the passion may be dying out somewhat. I am sure that women are not more numerous "on the road" than formerly, and that the change, if real, has not been caused by them. So much for my finding in the United States.

In England, where I have also lived with tramps for some

time, I have found very little contrary sexual feeling. In Germany, also, excepting in prisons and work-houses, it seems very little known among vagabonds. There are a few Jewish wanderers (sometimes peddlers) who are said to have boys in their company, and I am told that they use them as the hoboes in the United States use their boys, but I cannot prove this from personal observation. In England I have met a number of male tramps who had no hesitation in declaring their preference for their own sex, and particularly for boys, but I am bound to say that I have seldom seen them with boys; as a rule, they were quite alone, and they seem to live chiefly by themselves.

It is a noteworthy fact that both in England and Germany there are a great many women "on the road," or, at all events, so near it that intercourse with them is easy and cheap. In Germany almost every town has its quarter of "Stadt-Schieze"¹: women who sell their bodies for a very small sum. They seldom ask over thirty or forty pfennigs for a night, which is usually spent in the open air. In England it is practically the same thing. In all the large cities there are women who are glad to do business for three or four pence, and those "on the road" for even less.

The general impression made on me by the sexually perverted men I have met in vagabondage is that they are abnormally masculine. In their intercourse with boys they always take the active part. The boys have, in some cases, seemed to me uncommonly feminine, but not as a rule. In the main, they are very much like other lads, and I am unable to say whether their liking for the inverted relationship is inborn or acquired. That it is, however, a genuine liking, in altogether too many instances, I do not, in the least, doubt. As such, and all the more because it is such, it deserves to be more thoroughly investigated and more reasonably treated.

¹ This word is of Hebrew origin, and means girl (*Mädchen*).

APPENDIX B.

ULRICHS'S VIEWS.

By "Z."

It can hardly be said that inverted sexuality received serious and sympathetic treatment until a German jurist, named Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, began his long warfare against what he considered to be prejudice and ignorance upon a topic of the greatest moment to himself. A native of Hanover, and writing at first under the assumed name of Numa Numantius, he kept pouring out a series of polemical, analytical, theoretical, and apologetical pamphlets between the years 1864 and 1870. The most important of these works is a lengthy and comprehensive essay entitled *Memnon: Die Geschlechtsnatur des mannliebenden Urnings. Eine naturwissenschaftliche Darstellung*, Schleiz, 1868. *Memnon* may be used as the text-book of its author's theories; but it is also necessary to study earlier and later treatises—*Inclusa, Formatrix, Vindex, Ara Spei, Gladius Furens, Incubus, Argonauticus, Prometheus, Araxes, Kritische Pfeile*—in order to obtain a complete knowledge of his opinions, and to master the whole mass of information he has brought together.

The object of Ulrichs in these miscellaneous writings is twofold. He seeks to establish a theory of sexual inversion upon the basis of natural science, proving that abnormal instincts are inborn and healthy in a considerable percentage of human beings; that they do not owe their origin to bad habits of any kind, to hereditary disease or to willful depravity; that they are incapable in the majority of cases of being extirpated or converted into normal channels; and that the men subject to them are neither physically, intellectually, nor morally inferior to

normally constituted individuals. Having demonstrated these points to his own satisfaction, and supported his views with a large induction of instances and a respectable show of erudition, he proceeds to argue that the present state of the law in many states of Europe is flagrantly unjust to a class of innocent persons who may, indeed, be regarded as unfortunate and inconvenient, but who are guilty of nothing which deserves reprobation and punishment. In this second and polemical branch of his exposition, Ulrichs assumes, for his juristic starting-point, that each human being is born with natural rights, which legislation ought not to infringe, but to protect. He does not attempt to confute the utilitarian theory of jurisprudence, which regards laws as regulations made by the majority in the supposed interests of society. Yet a large amount of his reasoning is designed to invalidate utilitarian arguments in favor of repression, by showing that no social evil ensues in those countries which have placed abnormal sexuality upon the same footing as the normal, and that the toleration of inverted passion threatens no danger to the well-being of nations.

After this prelude, an abstract of Ulrichs's theory and his pleading may be given, deduced from the comparative study of his numerous essays.

The right key to the solution of the problem is to be found in physiology, in that obscure department of natural science which deals with the evolution of sex. The embryo, as we are now aware, contains an undetermined element of sex during the first months of pregnancy. This is gradually worked up into male and female organs of procreation, and these, when the age of puberty arrives, are generally accompanied by corresponding male and female appetites. That is to say, the man, in an immense majority of cases, desires the woman and the woman desires the man. Nature, so to speak, aims at differentiating the undecided fetus into a human being of one or the other sex, the propagation of the species being the main object of life. Still, as Aristotle puts it, and as we observe in many of her operations, "Nature wishes, but has not always the power."

Consequently, in respect of physical structure, there come

to light imperfect individuals, so-called hermaphrodites, whose sexual apparatus is so far undetermined that many a real male has passed a portion of his life under a mistake, has worn female clothes, and has cohabited by preference with men. Likewise, in respect of spiritual nature, there appear males who, notwithstanding their marked masculine organization, feel from the earliest childhood a sexual proclivity toward men, with a corresponding indifference for women. In some of these abnormal, but natural, beings, the appetite for men resembles the normal appetite for women: in others it resembles the normal appetite of women for men. That is to say, some prefer effeminate males, dressed in female clothes and addicted to female occupations. Others prefer powerful adults of an ultra-masculine stamp. A third class manifest their predilection for healthy young men in the bloom of adolescence, between nineteen and twenty. The attitude of such persons toward women also varies. In genuine cases of inborn sexual inversion a positive horror is felt when the woman has to be carnally known; and this horror is of the same sort as that which normal men experience when they think of cohabitation with a male. In others the disinclination does not amount to repugnance; but the abnormal man finds considerable difficulty in stimulating himself to the sexual act with females, and derives a very imperfect satisfaction from the same. A certain type of man, in the last place, seems to be indifferent, desiring men at one time and women at another.

In order to gain clearness in his exposition Ulrichs has invented names for these several species. The so-called hermaphrodite he dismisses with the German designation of *zwitter*. Imperfect individuals of this type are not to be considered, because it is well known that the male and female organs are never developed in one and the same body. It is also, as we shall presently discover, an essential part of his theory to regard the problem of inversion psychologically.

The normal man he calls *Dioning*, the abnormal man *Urning*. Among urnings, those who prefer effeminate males are christened by the name of *Mannling*; those who prefer powerful and masculine adults receive the name of *Weibling*; the

urning who cares for adolescents is styled a *Zwischen-urning*. Men who seem to be indifferently attracted by both sexes, he calls *uranodionings*. A genuine Dioning, who, from lack of women, or under the influence of special circumstances, consorts with persons of his own sex, is denominated *Uraniaster*. A genuine urning, who has put restraint upon his inborn impulse, who has forced himself to cohabit with women, or has perhaps contracted marriage, is said to be *virilisirt*, a virilized urning.

These outlandish names, though seemingly pedantic and superfluous, have their technical value, and are necessary to the proper understanding of Ulrichs's system. He is dealing exclusively with individuals classified by common parlance as males without distinction. Ulrichs believes that he can establish a real natural division between men proper, whom he calls dionings, and males of an anomalous sexual development, whom he calls urnings. Having proceeded so far, he finds the necessity of distinguishing three broad types of the urning, and of making out the crosses between urning and dioning, of which he also finds three species. It will appear in the sequel that, whatever may be thought about his psychological hypothesis, the nomenclature he has adopted is useful in discussion, and corresponds to well-defined phenomena, of which we have abundant information. The following table will make his analysis sufficiently plain:—

The Human Male	{	1. Man, or Dioning—Uraniaster, when he has acquired the tastes of the Uring.	{	Mannling.
		2. Uring		Weibling.
				Zwischen-urning.
				Virilized Uring.
		3. Uranodioning.		
		4. Hermaphrodite.		

Broadly speaking, the male includes two main species: dioning and urning, men with normal and men with abnormal instincts. What, then, constitutes the distinction between them? How are we justified in regarding them as radically divergent?

Ulrichs replies that phenomena of sexual inversion are to be explained by physiology, and particularly by the evolution of the embryo. The notion that human beings were originally hermaphroditic is both ancient and wide-spread. We find it in the Book of Genesis, unless, indeed, there be a confusion here between two separate theories of creation. God is said to have first made man in his image, male and female in one body, and to have bidden them multiply. Later on he created the woman out of part of this primitive man. The myth related by Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium* has a curious bearing upon Ulrichs's speculations. There were originally human beings of three sexes: men, the children of the sun; women, the children of the earth; and hermaphrodites, the children of the moon. They were round, with two faces, four feet, and two sets of reproductive organs apiece. In the case of the third sex one set was male, the other female. Zeus, on account of their strength and insolence, sliced them into halves. Since that time the halves of each sort have always striven to unite with their corresponding halves, and have found some satisfaction in carnal congress—males with males, females with females, and males and females with each other:—

They who are a section of the male follow the male, and while they are young, being slices of the original man, they hang about men and embrace them, and they are themselves the best of boys and youths, because they have the most manly nature. And when they reach manhood they are lovers of youth, and are not naturally inclined to marry or beget children, which they do, if at all, only in obedience to the law, but they are satisfied if they may be allowed to live with one another unwedded; and such a nature is prone to love and ready to return love, always embracing that which is akin to him." (*Symposium*, 191-2, Jowett's translation.)

Then follows a glowing description of Greek love, the whole reminding us very closely of the confessions made by urnings in modern times, and preserved by medical or forensic writers on sexual inversion.

Nature fails to complete her work regularly and in every instance. Having succeeded in differentiating a male with full-

formed sexual organs from the undecided fetus, she does not always effect the proper differentiation of that portion of the psychical being in which resides the sexual appetite. There remains a female soul in a male body. *Anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa* is the formula adopted by Ulrichs; and he quotes a passage from the *Vestiges of Creation* which suggests that the male is a more advanced product of sexual evolution than the female. The male instinct of sex is a more advanced product than the female instinct. Consequently men appear whose body has been differentiated as masculine, but whose sexual instinct has not progressed beyond the feminine stage.¹

Ulrichs's own words ought to be cited upon this fundamental part of his hypothesis, since he does not adopt the opinion that the urning is a dioning arrested at a certain point of development; but rather that there is an element of uncertainty attending the simultaneous evolution of physical and psychical factors from the indeterminate ground-stuff.

"Sex," says he, "is only an affair of development. Up to a certain stage of embryonic existence all living mammals are hermaphroditic. A

¹ It is right to observe that in the last of his publications upon sexual inversion Ulrichs considerably departed from his hypothesis of *anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa*. (*Kritische Pfeile*, Stuttgart, 1879. See p. 95.) He says that those who wish to study the phenomenon must begin with that sort of urning whom he calls weibling. The weibling is physically and spiritually complexioned after the female type; and, in spite of male organs, is more of a woman than a man. From him, through several intermediate stages of the *zwischen-urning*, we arrive at the manning, who is physically and spiritually masculine in spite of his loving persons of his own sex. This process of sexual differentiation is further extended from the manning, through several intermediate stages, on to the normal man, who loves only women. A similar scale can be observed in the ascent from females who love their own sex with masculine passion up to those who have no love except for men. He points out that such gradual transition is not observable between weibling and woman, or between man and woman; and he insists that the transition, by its very nature, excludes the hypothesis of disease. According to him, the real solution of the problem is to be found in embryology. What this argument amounts to is that we ought to regard all varieties and eccentricities of inborn sexual appetite as healthy deviations from what may be termed the normal standard. When we come to classify them, we discover a rhythm of subtly graduated differences extending from the extremity of sexual inversion up to the most positive type of ordinary sexual instinct.

certain number of them advance to the condition of what I call man (dioning), others to what I call woman (dioningin), a third class become what I call urning (including urningin). It ensues therefrom that between these three sexes there are no primary, but only secondary, differences. And yet true differences, constituting sexual species, exist as facts."—*Memnon*, Section XIV.

Man, woman, and urning—the third being either a male or a female in whom we observe a real and inborn, not an acquired or a spurious, inversion of appetite—are consequently regarded by him as the three main divisions of humanity, viewed from the point of view of sex. The embryonic ground-stuff in the case of each was homologous; but, while the two former, man and woman, have been normally differentiated, the urning's sexual instinct, owing to some imperfection in the process of development, does not correspond to his or her sexual organs.

The line of division between the sexes, even in adult life, is a subtle one; and the physical structure of men and women yields indubitable signs of their emergence from a common ground-stuff. Perfect men have rudimentary breasts. Perfect women carry a rudimentary penis in their clitoris. The raphé of the scrotum shows where the aperture, common at first to masculine and feminine beings, but afterward only retained in the female vulva, was closed up to form a male. Other anatomical details of the same sort might be adduced. That gradual development, which ends in normal differentiation, goes on very slowly. It is only at the age of puberty that a boy distinguishes himself abruptly from a girl, by changing his voice and growing hair on parts of the body where it is not usually found in women. This being so, it is surely not surprising that the sexual appetite should sometimes fail to be normally determined, or, in other words, should be inverted.

Ulrichs maintains that the body of an urning is masculine, his soul feminine, so far as sex is concerned. Accordingly, though physically unfitted for coition with men, he is imperatively drawn toward them by a natural impulse. Opponents meet him with this objection: "Your position is untenable. Body and soul constitute one inseparable entity." So they do,

replies Ulrichs; but the way in which these factors of the person are combined in human beings differs extremely, as I can prove by indisputable facts. The body of a male is visible to the eyes, is measurable and ponderable, is clearly marked in its specific organs. But what we call his soul—his passions, inclinations, sensibilities, emotional characteristics, sexual desires—elude the observation of the senses. This second factor, like the first, existed in the undetermined stages of the fetus. And when I find that the soul, this element of instinct and emotion and desire, existing in a male, has been directed in its sexual appetite from earliest boyhood toward persons of the male sex, I have the right to qualify it with the attribute of femineity. You assume that soul-sex is indissolubly connected and inevitably derived from body-sex. The facts contradict you, as I can prove by referring to the veracious autobiographies of urnings, and to known phenomena regarding them.

But Ulrichs seems to claim too much for the position he has won. He ignores the frequency of acquired habits. He shuts his eyes to the force of fashion and depravity. He reckons men like Horace and Ovid and Catullus, among the ancients, who were clearly indifferent in their tastes (as indifferent as the modern Turks), to the account of the uranodionings. In one word, he is so enthusiastic for his physiological theory that he overlooks all other aspects of the question.

Let us turn, then, to the consideration of his arguments in favor of freeing urnings from the terrible legal penalties to which they are at present subject, and, if this were possible, from the no less terrible social condemnation to which they are exposed by the repugnance they engender in the normally constituted majority. Dealing with these exceptions to the kindly race of men and women, these unfortunates who have no family ties knitted by bonds of mutual love, no children to expect, no reciprocity of passion to enjoy, mankind, says Ulrichs, has hitherto acted just in the same way as a herd of deer acts when it drives the sickly and the weakly out to die in solitude, burdened with contumely, and cut off from common sympathy.

From the point of view of morality and law, he argues, it

does not signify whether we regard the sexual inversion of an urning as morbid or as natural. He has become what he is in the dawn and first emergence of emotional existence. You may contend that he derives perverted instincts from his ancestry, that he is the subject of a psychic disorder, that from his cradle he is predestined by atavism or disease to misery. I maintain that he is one of Nature's sports, a creature healthy and well organized, evolved in her superb indifference to aberrations from the normal type. We need not quarrel over our solutions of the problem. The fact that he is there, among us, and that he constitutes an ever-present factor in our social system, has to be faced. How are we to deal with him? Has society the right to punish individuals sent into the world with homosexual instincts? Putting the question at its lowest point, admitting that these persons are the victims of congenital morbidity, ought they to be treated as criminals? It is established that their appetites, being innate, are to them at least natural and undepraved: the common appetites, being excluded from their sexual scheme, are to them unnatural and abhorrent. Ought not such beings, instead of being hunted down and persecuted by the law, to be regarded with pitying solicitude as among the most unfortunate of human beings, doomed as they are to inextinguishable longings and life-long deprivation of that which is the chief prize of man's existence on this planet, a reciprocated love? As your laws at present stand, you include all cases of sexual inversion under the one denomination of crime. You make exceptions in some special instances, and treat the men involved as lunatics. But the urning is neither criminal nor insane. He is only less fortunate than you are, through an accident of birth, which is at present obscure to our imperfect science of sexual determination.

But here arises a difficulty, which cannot be ignored, since upon it is based the only valid excuse for the position taken up by society in dealing with this matter. Not all men and women possessed by abnormal sexual desires can claim that these are innate. It is certain that habits of sodomy are frequently acquired under conditions of exclusion from the company

of persons of the other sex—as in public schools, barracks, prisons, convents, ships. In some cases they are deliberately adopted by natures tired of normal sexual pleasure. They may even become fashionable and epidemic. Last, it is probable that curiosity and imitation communicate them to otherwise normal individuals at a susceptible moment of development. Therefore, society has the right to say: Those who are the unfortunate subjects of inborn sexual inversion shall not be allowed to indulge their passions, lest the mischief should spread, and a vicious habit should contaminate our youth. From the utilitarian point of view, society is justified in protecting itself against a minority of exceptional beings whom it regards as pernicious to the general welfare. From any point of view, the majority is strong enough to coerce the inborn instincts, and to trample on the anguish of a few unfortunates. But, asks Ulrichs, is this consistent with humanity, is it consistent with the august ideal of impartial equity? Are people, sound in body, vigorous in mind, wholesome in habit, capable of generous affections, good servants of the State, trustworthy in all the ordinary relations of life, to be condemned at law as criminals, because they cannot feel sexually as the majority feel, because they find some satisfaction for their inborn want in ways which the majority dislike?

Seeking a solution of one difficulty stated in the foregoing paragraph, Ulrichs finds it in fact and history. His answer is that if society leaves Nature to take her course, with the abnormal as with the normal subjects of sexual inclination, society will not suffer. In countries where legal penalties have been removed from inverted sexuality, where this is placed upon the same footing as the normal, no inconvenience has hitherto arisen. There has ensued no sudden and flagrant outburst of a depraved habit, no dissemination of a spreading moral poison. On the other hand, in countries where these penalties exist and are enforced—in England, for example, and in the metropolis of England, London—inverted sexuality runs riot, despite of legal prohibitions, despite of threats of prison, dread of exposure, and the intolerable pest of organized *chantage*. In the eyes of

Ulrichs, society is engaged in sitting on a safety-valve, which, if Nature were allowed to operate unhindered, would do society no harm, but rather good. The majority, he thinks, are not going to become urnings, for the simple reason that they have not the unhappy constitution of the urning. Cease to persecute urnings, accept them as inconsiderable, yet real, factors in the social commonwealth, leave them to themselves; and you will not be the worse for it, and will also not carry on your conscience the burden of intolerant vindictiveness.

Substantiating this position, Ulrichs demonstrates that acquired habits of sexual inversion are almost invariably thrown off by normal natures. Your boys at public schools, he says, behave as though they were urnings. In the lack of women, at the time when their passions are predominant, they yield themselves up together to mutual indulgences which would bring down your laws upon them with terrible effect as adults. You are aware of this. Yet you remain untroubled in your minds. And why? Because you feel convinced that they will return to their congenital instincts.

When the school, the barrack, the prison, the ship has been abandoned, the male reverts to the female. This is the truth about dionings. The large majority of men and women remain normal simply because they were made normal. They cannot find the satisfaction of their nature in those inverted practices to which they yielded for a time through want of normal outlet. Society risks little by the occasional caprice of the school, the barrack, the prison, and the ship. Some genuine urnings may, indeed, discover their inborn inclination by means of the process to which you subject them. But you are quite right in supposing that a dioning, though you have forced him to become, for a time, a uraniaster, will never, in the long run, appear as an urning. The extensive experience which English people possess regarding such matters, owing to the notorious condition of their public schools, goes to confirm Ulrichs's position. Head-masters know how many uraniasters they have dealt with, what excellent dionings they become, and how comparatively rare, and yet how incorrigibly steadfast, are the genuine urnings in their flock.

The upshot of this matter is that we are continually forcing our young men into conditions under which, if sexual inversion were an acquired attribute, it would become stereotyped in their natures. Yet it does not do so. Provisionally, because they are shut off from girls, because they find no other outlet for their sex at the moment of its most imperious claims, they turn toward males, and treat their younger schoolfellows in ways which would consign an adult to penal servitude. They are uraniasters by necessity and *faute de mieux*. But no sooner are they let loose upon the world than the majority revert to normal channels. They pick up women in the streets, and form connections, as the phrase goes. Some undoubtedly, in this fiery furnace through which they have been passed, discover their inborn sexual inversion. Then, when they cannot resist their proclivity, you condemn them as criminals in their later years! Is that just? Would it not be better to revert from our civilization to the manners of the savage man—to initiate youths into the mysteries of sex, and to give each, in his turn, the chance of developing a normal instinct by putting him, during his time of puberty, freely and frankly to the female? If you abhor urnings, as you surely do, you are at least responsible for their mishap by the extraordinary way in which you bring them up. At all events, when they develop into the eccentric beings which they are, you are the last people in the world who have any right to punish them with legal penalties, social obloquy.

Considering the present state of the law in most countries to be inequitable toward a respectable minority of citizens, Ulrichs proposes that urnings should be placed upon the same footing as other men. That is to say, sexual relations between males and males should not be treated as criminal, unless they be attended with violence (as in the case of rape), or be carried on in such a way as to offend the public sense of decency (in places of general resort or in the public street), or, thirdly, be entertained between an adult and a boy under age (the protected age to be decided, as in the case of girls). What he demands is that when an adult male, freely and of his own consent, complies with the proposals of an adult person of his own sex, and

their intercourse takes place with due regard for public decency, neither party shall be liable to prosecution and punishment at law. [He seems, however, to have gone further than is here stated, and to have advocated marriages between persons of the same sex.]

If so much were conceded by the majority of normal people to the abnormal minority, continues Ulrichs, an immense amount of misery and furtive vice would be at once abolished. A defender of the present laws of Prussia, England, etc., might, indeed, reply: "This is opening a free way to the seduction and corruption of young men." But young men are surely at least as capable of defending themselves against seduction and corruption as young women are. Nay, they are far more able, not merely because they are stronger, but because they are not usually weakened by an overpowering sexual instinct on which the seducer plays. Yet the seduction and corruption of young women is tolerated, in spite of the attendant consequences of illegitimate childbirth, and all which that involves. This toleration of the seduction of women by men springs from the assumption that only the normal sexual appetite is natural. The seduction of man by a male passes for criminal, because the inverted sexual instinct is regarded as unnatural, depraved, and willfully perverse. On the hypothesis that individuals subject to perverted instincts can suppress them at pleasure or convert them into normal appetite it is argued that they must be punished. But, when the real facts come to be studied, it will be found: first, that these instincts are inborn in urnings, and are, therefore, in their case natural; secondly, that the suppression of them is tantamount to life-long abstinence under the constant torture of sexual solicitation; thirdly, that the conversion of them into normal channels is, in a large percentage of cases, totally impossible, in nearly all where it has been attempted is only partially successful; and where marriage ensues has generally ended in misery for both parties. Ulrichs, it will be noticed, does not distinguish between urnings, in whom the inversion is admitted to be congenital, and uraniasters, in whom it has been acquired or deliberately adopted. And it would be very difficult

to frame laws which should take separate cognizance of these two classes. The *Code Napoléon* legalizes the position of both,—theoretically, at any rate. The English Code treats both as criminal, doing thereby, it must be admitted, marked injustice to recognized urnings, who, at the worst, are morbid or insane, or sexually deformed, through no fault of their own.

In the present state of things, adds Ulrichs, the men who yield their bodies to abnormal lovers do not do so merely out of compliance, sympathy, or the desire for reasonable reward. Too often they speculate upon the illegality of the connection, and have their main object in the extortion of money by threats of exposure. Thus, the very basest of all trades, that of *chantage*, is encouraged by the law. Alter the law, and, instead of increasing vice, you will diminish it, for a man who should then meet the advances of an urning would do so out of compliance, or, as is the case with female prostitutes, upon the expectation of reasonable gain. The temptation to ply a disgraceful profession with the object of extorting money would be avoided. Moreover, as regards individuals alike abnormally constituted, voluntary and mutually satisfying relations, free from degrading risks, and possibly permanent, might be formed between responsible agents.

One serious objection to recognizing and tolerating sexual inversion has always been that it tends to check the population. This was a sound political and social argument in the time of Moses, when a small and militant tribe needed to multiply to the full extent of its procreative capacity. It is by no means so valid in our age, when the habitable portions of the globe are rapidly becoming overcrowded. Moreover, we must bear in mind that society, under the existing order, sanctions female prostitution, whereby men and women, the normally procreative, are sterilized to an indefinite extent. Logic, in these circumstances, renders it inequitable and ridiculous to deny a sterile exercise of sex to abnormal men and women, who are by instinct and congenital diathesis non-procreative.

As the result of these considerations, Ulrichs concludes that there is no real ground for the persecution of urnings, except

such as may be found in the repugnance felt by the vast numerical majority for an insignificant minority. The majority encourages matrimony, condones seduction, sanctions prostitution, legalizes divorce, in the interests of its own sexual proclivities. It makes temporary or permanent unions illegal for the minority whose inversion of instinct it abhors. And this persecution, in the popular mind, at any rate, is justified, like many other inequitable acts of prejudice or ignorance, by theological assumptions and the so-called mandates of revelation.

In the next place, it is objected that inverted sexuality is demoralizing to the manhood of a nation, that it degrades the dignity of man, and that it is incapable of moral elevation. With regard to the dignity of man, is there, asks Ulrichs, anything more degrading to humanity in sexual acts performed between male and male than in similar acts performed between male and female? Much of this talk about the dignity of man, says Ulrichs, proceeds from a vulgar misconception as to the nature of inverted sexual desire. People assume that urnings seek their pleasure only or mainly in an act of unmentionable indecency. The exact opposite, he assures them, is the truth. The vulgar have confounded two different classes; and everybody who studies the psychology of urnings is aware that this involves a great injustice to the latter. Without appealing to antiquity, the records of which confute this objection overwhelmingly, one might refer to the numerous passages in Ulrichs's writings where he relates the fidelity, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and romantic enthusiasm which frequently accompany such loves, and raise them above baseness.

APPENDIX C.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR X.

PROFESSOR X., the writer of the following letter which has come into my hands, and an American of eminence, who holds a scientific professorship in one of the first universities of the world, has carried to the furthest extent the theory of the sexual indifference of the genital impulse, and the consequently normal nature of homosexuality. He writes: "I have considered and inquired into this question for many years; and it has long been my settled conviction that no breach of morality is involved in homosexual love; that, like every other passion, it tends, when duly understood and controlled by spiritual feeling, to the physical and moral health of the individual and the race, and that it is only its brutal perversions which are immoral. I have known many persons more or less the subjects of this passion, and I have found them a particularly high-minded, upright, refined, and (I must add) pure-minded class of men. In view of what everybody knows of the vile influence on society of the intersexual passion, as it actually exists in the world, making men and women sensual, low-minded, false, every way unprincipled and grossly selfish, and this especially in those nations which self-righteously reject homosexual love, it seems a travesty of morality to invest the one with divine attributes and denounce the other as infamous and unnatural.

"There is an error in the view that feminine love is that which is directed to a man, and masculine love that which is directed to a woman. That doctrine involves a begging of the whole question. It is a fatal concession to vulgar prejudice, and a contradiction to all which has been so firmly adduced from Greek manners, and, indeed, I may say, to all the *natural* evolution of

our race. Passion is in itself a blind thing. It is a furious pushing out, not with calculation or comprehension of its object, but to anything which strikes the imagination as fitted to its need. It is not characterized or differentiated by the nature of its object, but by its own nature. Its instinct is to a certain form of action or submission. But how that instinct is determined is largely accidental. Sexual passion is drawn by certain qualities which appeal to it. It may see them, or think that it sees them, in a man or a woman. But it is in either case the same person. The controlling influence is a certain spiritual attraction, and that may lie in either. The two directions are equally natural to unperverted man, and the *abnormal* form of love is that which has lost the power of excitability in either the one or the other of these directions. It is *unisexual* love (a love for one sexuality) which is a perversion. The normal men love both.

"It is true enough that in primitive society all passion must have been wholly or mainly animal, and spiritual progress must have been conditioned on subduing it. But there is no reason why this subjugation should have consisted in extirpating, or trying to extirpate, one of the two main forms of sexual passion and cultivating the other. The actual reasons were, I take it, two: (1) to reserve all sexual energy for the increase of the race; (2) to get the utmost merely fleshly pleasure out of the exercise of passion. Whether either of these reasons adds to the spiritual elevation of love may be doubted. Certainly not the second, which is now the moving influence in the matter. It is true enough that all passion needs to be unceasingly watched, because the worst evils for mankind lie hidden in its undisciplined indulgence. But this is quite as true of intersexual as of homosexual love. I clearly believe that the Greek morality on this subject was far higher than ours, and truer to the spiritual nature of man; that our civilization suffers for want of the pure and noble sentiment which they thought so useful to the state; and that we ought to think and speak of homosexual love, not as 'inverted' or 'abnormal,' as a sort of color-blindness of the genital sense, as a lamentable mark of inferior development, or as an unhappy fault, a 'masculine body with a feminine soul,'

but as being in itself a natural, pure, and sound passion, as worthy of the reverence of all fine natures as the honorable devotion of husband and wife, or the ardor of bride and groom."

I present this statement of Professor X.'s as representing the farthest point to which the defense of sexual inversion has gone, or, indeed, could go, unless anyone were bold enough to assert that homosexuality is the only normal impulse, and heterosexual love a perversion. But a broad view of the phenomena of sex among animals generally, or even in savage or barbarous races of man, does not tend to make out even a *prima facie* case in its favor.

APPENDIX D.

THE SCHOOL-FRIENDSHIPS OF GIRLS.

A SCHOOL-FRIENDSHIP is termed by Italian girls a "flame" (*fiamma*). This term, as explained by Obici and Marchesini, indicates, in school-slang, both the beloved person and the friendship in the abstract; but it is a friendship which has the note of passion as felt and understood in this environment. In every college the "flame" is regarded as a necessary institution. The relationship is usually of a markedly Platonic character, and generally exists between a boarder on one side and a day-pupil on the other. Notwithstanding, however, its apparently non-sexual nature, all the sexual manifestations of college youth circle around it, and in its varying aspects of differing intensity all the gradations of sexual sentiment may be expressed.

Obici and Marchesini carried on their investigation chiefly among the pupils of Normal schools, the age of the girls being between 12 and 19 or 20. There are both boarders and day-pupils at these colleges; the boarders are most inflammable, but it is the day-pupils who furnish the sparks.

Obici and Marchesini received much assistance in their studies from former pupils who are now themselves teachers. One of these, a day-pupil who had never herself been either the object or the agent in one of these passions, but had had ample opportunity of making personal observations, writes as follows: "The 'flame' proceeds exactly like a love-relationship; it often happens that one of the girls shows man-like characteristics, either in physical type or in energy and decision of character; the other lets herself be loved, acting with all the obstinacy—and one might almost say the shyness—of a girl with her lover. The beginning of these relationships is quite different from the

usual beginnings of friendship. It is not by being always together, talking and studying together, that two become 'flames'; no, generally they do not even know each other; one sees the other on the stairs, in the garden, in the corridors, and the emotion that arises is nearly always called forth by beauty and physical grace. Then the one who is first struck begins a regular courtship: frequent walks in the garden when the other is likely to be at the window of her class-room, pauses on the stairs to see her pass; in short, a mute adoration made up of glances and sighs. Later come presents of beautiful flowers, and little messages conveyed by complacent companions. Finally, if the 'flame' shows signs of appreciating all these proofs of affection, comes the letter of declaration. Letters of declaration are long and ardent, to such a degree that they equal or surpass real love-declarations. The courted one nearly always accepts, sometimes with enthusiasm, oftenest with many objections and doubts as to the affection declared. It is only after many entreaties that she yields and the relationship begins."

Another collaborator who has herself always aroused very numerous "flames" gives a very similar description, together with other particulars. Thus she states: "It may be said that 60 per cent. of the girls in a college have 'flame' relationships, and that of the remaining 40 only half refuse from deliberate repulsion to such affections; the other 20 are excluded either because they are not sufficiently pleasing in appearance or because their characters do not inspire sympathy." And, regarding the method of beginning the relationship, she writes: "Sometimes 'flames' arise before the two future friends have even seen each other, merely because one of them is considered as beautiful, sympathetic, nice, or elegant. Elegance exerts an immense fascination, especially on the boarders, who are bound down by monotonous and simple habits. As soon as a boarder hears of a day-pupil that she is charming and elegant she begins to feel a lively sympathy toward her, rapidly reaching anxiety to see her. The longed-for morning at length arrives. The beloved, unconscious of the tumult of passions she has aroused, goes into school, not knowing that her walk, her move-

ments, her garments are being observed from stairs or dormitory corridor. . . . For the boarders these events constitute an important part of college-life, and often assume, for some, the aspect of a tragedy, which, fortunately, may be gradually resolved into a comedy or a farce."

Many letters are written in the course of these relationships; Obici and Marchesini have been able to read over 300 such letters which had been carefully preserved by the receivers and which, indeed, formed the chief material for this study. These letters clearly show that the "flame" most usually arises from a physical sympathy, an admiration of beauty and elegance. The letters written in this "flame" relationship are full of passion; they appear to be often written during periods of physical excitement and psychic erethism, and may be considered, Obici and Marchesini remark, a form of intellectual onanism, of which the writers afterward feel remorse and shame as of a physically dishonorable act. In reference to the underlying connection of these feelings with the sexual impulse, one of the lady collaborators writes: "I can say that a girl who is in love with a man never experiences 'flame' emotions for a companion."

Obici and Marchesini thus summarize the differential character of "flames" as distinguished from ordinary friendships: "(1) the extraordinary frequency with which, even by means of subterfuges, the lovers exchange letters; (2) the anxiety to see and talk to each other, to press each other's hands, to embrace and kiss; (3) the long conversations and the very long reveries; (4) persistent jealousy, with its manifold arts and usual results; (5) exaltation of the beloved's qualities; (6) the habit of writing the beloved's name everywhere; (7) absence of envy for the loved one's qualities; (8) the lover's abnegation in conquering all obstacles to the manifestations of her love; (9) the vanity with which some respond to 'flame' declarations; (10) the consciousness of doing a prohibited thing; (11) the pleasure of conquest, of which the trophies (letters, etc.) are preserved."

The difference between a "flame" and a friendship is very well marked in the absolute exclusiveness of the former, whence arises the possibility of jealousy. At the same time friendship

and love are here woven together. The letters are chaste (a few exceptions among so many letters not affecting this general rule), and the purity of the flame relationship is also shown by the fact that it is usually between boarders and day-pupils, girls in different classes and different rooms, and seldom between those who are living in close proximity to each other. "Certainly," writes one of the lady collaborators, "the first sensual manifestations develop in girls with physical excitement pure and simple, but (at all events, I would wish to believe it) the majority of college-girls find sufficient satisfaction in being as near as possible to the beloved person (of whichever sex), in mutual admiration and in kissing, or, very frequently, in conversation that is by no means moral, though usually very metaphorical. The object of such conversation is to discover the most important mysteries of human nature, the why and the wherefore; it deals with natural necessities, which the girl feels and has an intuition of, but as yet knows nothing definite about. Such conversations are the order of the day in schools and in colleges and specially revolve around procreation, the most difficult mystery of all. They are a heap of stupidities." This lady had only known of one definitely homosexual relationship during the whole of her college-life; the couple in question were little liked and had no other "flames." The chief general sexual manifestation, this lady concludes, which she had noted among her companions was a constant pre-occupation with sexual mysteries and the necessity of talking about them perpetually.

Another lady collaborator who had lived in a Normal school had had somewhat wider experiences. She entered at the age of 14 and experienced the usual loneliness and unhappiness of a new pupil. One day as she was standing pensive and alone in a corner of the room, a companion—one who on her arrival had been charged to show her over the college—ran up to her, "embracing me, closing my mouth with a kiss, and softly caressing my hair. I gazed at her in astonishment, but experienced a delicious sensation of supreme comfort. Here began the idyll! I was subjected to a furious tempest of kisses and caresses which quite stunned me and made me ask myself the reason of such

a new and unforeseen affection. I ingenuously inquired the reason, and the reply was: 'I love you, you struck me immediately I saw you, because you are so beautiful and so white, and because it makes me happy and *soothes* me when I can pass my hands through your hair and kiss your plump, white face. I need a soul and a body.' This seemed to me the language of a superior person, for I could not grasp all its importance. As on the occasion when she first embraced me, I looked at her in astonishment and could not for the moment respond to a new fury of caresses and kisses. I felt that they were not like the kisses of my mamma, my papa, my brother, and other companions; they gave me unknown sensations; the contact of those moist and fleshy lips disturbed me. Then came the exchange of letters and the usual rights and duties of 'flames.' When we met in the presence of others we were only to greet each other simply, for 'flames' were strictly prohibited. I obeyed because I liked her, but also because I was afraid of her Othello-like jealousy. She would suffocate me, even bite me, when I played, joyously and thoughtlessly, with others, and woe to me if I failed to call her when I was combing my hair. She liked to see me with my hair down and would rest her head on my shoulder, especially if I were partially undressed. I let her do as she liked, and she would scold me severely because I was never first in longing for her, running to meet her, and kissing her. But at the same time the thought of losing her, the thought that perhaps one day she would shower her caresses on others, secretly wounded my heart. But I never told her this! One day, however, when with the head-mistress gazing at a beautiful landscape, I was suddenly overwhelmed with sadness and burst out crying. The head-mistress inquired what was the matter, and throwing myself in her arms I sobbed: 'I love her, and I shall die if she leaves off loving me!' She smiled, and the smile went through my heart. I saw at once how silly I was, and what a wrong road my companion was on. From that day I could no longer endure my 'flame.' The separation was absolute; I courageously bore bites and insults, even scratches on my face, followed by long complaints and complete prostration.

I thought it would be mean to accuse her, but I invented a pretext for having the number of my bed changed. This was because she would dress quietly and come to pass hours by my bed, resting her head on the pillow. She said she wished to smell the perfume of my health and freshness. This continual turbulent desire had now nauseated me, and I wished to avoid it altogether. Later I heard that she had formed a relationship which was not blessed by any sacred rite."

Notwithstanding the Platonic character of the correspondences, Obici and Marchesini remark, there is really a substratum of emotional sexuality beneath it, and it is this which finds its expression in the indecorous conversations already referred to. The "flame" is a *love-fiction*, a *play of sexual love*. This characteristic comes out in the frequently romantic names, of men and women, invented to sign the letters.

Even in the letters, however, the element of sexual impressionability may clearly be traced. "On Friday we went to a service at San B.," writes one who was in an institution directed by nuns, "but unfortunately I saw M. L. at a window when I thought she was at A. and I was in a nervous state the whole time. Imagine that that dear woman was at the window with bare arms, and, as it seemed to me, in her chemise." No doubt a similar impression might have been made on a girl living in her own family. But it is certain that the imaginative coloring tends to be more lively in those living in colleges and shut off from that varied and innocent observation which renders those outside colleges freer and more unprejudiced. On a boy who is free to see as many women as he chooses a woman's face cannot make such an impression as on a boy who lives in a college and who is liable to be, as it were, electrified if he sees any object belonging to a woman, especially if he sees it by stealth or during a mood of erotism. Such an object calls out a whole series of wanton imaginations, which it could not do in one who, by his environment, was already armed against any tendencies to erotic fetichism. The attraction exerted by that which we see but seldom, and around which fancy assiduously plays, the attraction of forbidden fruit, produces tendencies and

habits which could scarcely develop in freedom. Curiosity is acute, and is augmented by the obstacles which stand in the way of its satisfaction. "Flame" fetichism is the beginning of such a morbid fetichism. A sentiment which under other conditions would never have gone beyond ordinary friendship may thus become a "flame," and even a "flame" of markedly sexual character. Under these influences boys and girls feel the purest and simplest sentiments in a hyperæsthetic manner. The girls here studied have lost an exact conception of the simple manifestations of friendship, and think they are giving evidence of exquisite sensibility and true friendship by loving a companion to madness; friendship in them has become a passion. That this intense desire to love a companion passionately is the result of the college environments may be seen by the following extract from a letter: "You know, dear, much better than I do how acutely girls living away from their own homes, and far from all those who are dearest to them on earth, feel the need of loving and being loved. You can understand how hard it is to be obliged to live without anyone to surround you with affection"; and the writer goes on to say how all her love turns to her correspondent.

While there is an unquestionable sexual element in the "flame" relationship, this cannot be regarded as an absolute expression of real congenital perversion of the sex-instinct. The frequency of the phenomena, as well as the fact that, on leaving college to enter social life, the girl usually ceases to feel these emotions, are sufficient to show the absence of congenital abnormality. The estimate of the frequency of "flames" in normal schools, given to Obici and Marchesini by several lady collaborators, was about 60 per cent., but there is no reason to suppose that women teachers furnish a larger contingent of perverted individuals than other women. The root is organic, but the manifestations are ideal and Platonic, in contrast with the other manifestations found in college-life. No inquiry was made as to the details of solitary sexual manifestations in the colleges, the fact that they exist to a more or less extent being sufficiently recognized. The conversations already referred to are a measure

of the excitations of sexuality existing in these college inmates and multiplied in energy by communication. Such discourse was, wrote one collaborator, the order of the day, and it took place chiefly at the time when letter-writing also was easiest. It may well be that sensual excitations, transformed into ethereal sentiments, serve to increase the intensity of the "flames."

Taken altogether, Obici and Marchesini conclude, the flame may be regarded as a *provisional synthesis*. We find here, in solution together, the physiological element of incipient sexuality, the psychical element of the tenderness natural to this age and sex, the element of occasion offered by the environment, and the social element with its nascent altruism.

II.

That the phenomena described in minute detail by Obici and Marchesini closely resemble the phenomena as they exist in English girls' schools is indicated by the following communication, for which I am indebted to a lady who is familiar with an English girls' college of very modern type:—

"From inquiries made in various quarters and through personal observation and experience I have come to the conclusion that the romantic and emotional attachments formed by girls for their female friends and companions, attachments which take a great hold of their minds for the time being, are far commoner than is generally supposed among English girls, more especially at school or college, or wherever a number of girls or young women live together in one institution, and are much secluded.

"As far as I have been able to find out, these attachments—which have their own local names, *e.g.*, 'raves,' 'spoons,' etc.—are comparatively rare in the smaller private schools, and totally absent among girls of the poorer class attending Board and National schools, perhaps because they mix more freely with the opposite sex.

"I can say from personal experience that in one of the largest and best English colleges, where I spent some years,

'raving' is especially common in spite of arrangements which one would have thought would have abolished most unhealthy feelings. The arrangements there are very similar to a large boys' college. There are numerous boarding-houses, which have, on an average, forty to fifty students. Each house is under the management of a well-educated house-mistress assisted by house-governesses (quite separate from college-teachers). Each house has a large garden with tennis-courts, etc.; and cricket, hockey, and other games are carried on to a large extent, games being not only much encouraged, but much enjoyed. Each girl has a separate cubicle, or bedroom, and no junior (under 17 years of age) is allowed to enter the cubicle, or bedroom, of another without asking permission, or to go to the bedrooms during the day. In fact, everything is done to discourage any morbid feelings. But all the same, as far as my experience goes, the friendships there seem more violent and more emotional than in most places, and sex subjects form one of the chief topics of conversation.

"In such large schools and colleges these 'raves' are not only numerous, but seem to be perennial among the girls of all ages, from thirteen years upward. Girls under that age may be fond of some other student or teacher, but in quite a different way. These 'raves' are not mere friendships in the ordinary sense of the word, nor are they incompatible with ordinary friendships. A girl with a 'rave' often has several intimate friends for whom affection is felt without the emotional feelings and pleasurable excitement which characterize a 'rave.'

"From what I have been told by those who have experienced these 'raves' and have since been in love with men, the emotions called forth in both cases were similar, although in the case of the 'rave' this fact was not recognized at the time. This appears to point to a sexual basis, but, on the other hand, there are many cases where the feeling seems to be more spiritual, a sort of uplifting of the whole soul with an intense desire to lead a very good life—the feeling being one of reverence more than anything else for the loved one, with no desire to become too intimate and no desire for physical contact.

"'Raves,' as a rule, begin quite suddenly. They may be

mutual or all on one side. In the case of school-girls the mutual 'rave' is generally found between two companions, or the girls may have a 'rave' for one of their teachers or some grown-up acquaintance, who does not necessarily enter into the school-life. In this case there may or may not be a feeling of affection for the girl by her 'rave,' though minus all the emotional feelings.

"Occasionally a senior student will have a 'rave' on a little girl, but these cases are rare and not very active in their symptoms, girls over 18 having fewer 'raves' and generally condemning them.

"In the large school already referred to, of which I have personal knowledge, 'raving' was very general, hardly anyone being free from it. Any fresh student would soon fall a victim to the fashion, which rather points to the fact that it is infectious. Sometimes there might be a lull in the general raving, only to reappear after an interval in more or less of an epidemic form. Sometimes nearly all the 'raves' were felt by students for their teachers, at other times it was more apparent between the girls themselves.

"Sometimes one teacher was raved on by several girls. In many cases, the girls raving on a teacher would have a very great friendship with one of their companions—talking with each other constantly of their respective 'raves,' describing their feelings and generally letting off steam to one another, indulging sometimes in the active demonstrations of affection which they were debarred from showing the teacher herself, and in some cases having no desire to do so even if they could.

"As far as I have been able to judge, there is not necessarily any attraction for physical characteristics, as beauty, elegance, etc.; the two participants are probably both of strong character or a weak character raves on a stronger, but rarely *vice versa*.

"I have often noticed that the same person may be raved on at different times by several people of different characters and of all ages: say, up to thirty years of age. It is hard to say why some persons more than others should inspire this feeling. Often they are reserved, without any particular physical attrac-

tion, and often despising raving and emotional friendships, and give no encouragement to them. That the majority of 'raves' have a sexual basis may be true, but I am sure that in the majority of cases where young girls are concerned this is not in the least recognized, and no impurity is indulged in or wished for. The majority of the girls are entirely ignorant of all sexual matters, and understand nothing whatever about them. But they do wonder about them and talk about them constantly, more especially when they have a 'rave,' which seems to point to some subtle connection between the two. That this ignorance exists is largely to be deplored. The subject, if once thought of, is always thought of and talked of, and information is at length generally gained in a regrettable manner. From personal experience I know the evil results that this ignorance and constant endeavoring to find out everything has on the mind and bodies of school-girls. If children had the natural and simple laws of creation carefully explained to them by their parents, much harm would be prevented, and the conversation would not always turn on sexual matters. The Bible is often consulted for the discovery of hidden mysteries.

"'Raves' on teachers are far commoner than between two girls. In this case the girl makes no secret of her attachment, constantly talking of it and describing her feelings to any who care to listen and writing long letters to her friends about the same. In the case of two girls there is more likely to be a sexual element, great pleasure being taken in close contact with one another and frequent kissing and hugging. When parted, long letters are written, often daily; they are full of affectionate expressions of love, etc., but there is also a frequent reference to the happiness and desire to do well that their love has inspired them with, while often very deeply religious feelings appear to be generated and many good resolutions are made. Their various emotional feelings are described in every minute detail to each other.

"The duration of 'raves' varies. I have known them to last three or four years, more often only a few months. Occasionally what began as a 'rave' will turn into a sensible firm friendship.

I imagine that there is seldom any actual inversion, and on growing up the 'raves' generally cease. That the 'ravers' feel and act like a pair of lovers there is no doubt, and the majority put down these romantic friendships for their own sex as due, in a great extent, in the case of girls at schools, to being without the society of the opposite sex. This may be true in some cases, but personally I think the question open to discussion. These friendships are often found among girls who have left school and have every liberty, even among girls who have had numerous flirtations with the opposite sex, who cannot be accused of inversion, and who have all the feminine and domestic characteristics.

"In illustration of these points I may bring forward the following case: A. and B. were two girls at the same college. They belonged to different cliques, or sets; occupied different bedrooms; never met in their school-work, and were practically only known to one another by name. One day they chanced to sit next to one another at some meal. They both already had 'raves,' A. on an actor she had lately seen, B. on a married woman at her home. The conversation happened to turn on 'raves,' and mutual attraction was *suddenly* felt. From that moment a new interest came into their lives. They lived for one another. At the time A. was 14, B. a year older. Both were somewhat precocious for their age, were practical, with plenty of common-sense, very keen on games, interested in their lessons, and very independent, but at the same time with marked feminine characteristics and popular with the opposite sex. After the first feeling of interest there was a subtle excitement and desire to meet again. All their thoughts were occupied with the subject. Each day they managed as many private meetings as possible. They met in the passages in order to say good-night with many embraces. As far as possible they hid their feelings from the rest of their world. They became inseparable and a very lasting and real, but somewhat emotional, affection, in which the sexual element was certainly marked, sprang up between them. Although at the time they were both quite ignorant of sexual matters, yet they indulged their sexual instincts to some extent.

They felt surcharged with hitherto unexperienced feelings and emotions, instinct urged them to let these have play, but instinctively they also had a feeling that to do so would be wrong. This feeling they endeavored to argue out and find reasons for. When parted for any length of time they felt very miserable and wrote pages to one another every day, pouring forth in writing their feelings for one another. In this time of active attraction they both became deeply religious for a time. The active part of the affection continued for three or four years, and now, after an interval of ten years, they are both exceedingly fond of one another, although their paths in life are divided and each has since experienced love for a man. Both look back upon the sexual element in their friendship with some interest. It may be remarked in passing that A. and B. are both attractive girls to men and women, and B. especially appears always to have roused 'rave' feelings in her own sex, without the slightest encouragement on her part. The duration of this 'rave' was exceptionally long, the majority only lasting a few months, while some girls have one 'rave' after another or two or three together.

"I may mention one other case, where I believe that if it had a sexual basis this was not recognized by the parties concerned or their friends. Two girls, over 20 years of age, passed in a corridor. A few words were exchanged: the beginning of a very warm and fast friendship. They said it was *not* a 'rave.' They were absolutely devoted to one another, but from what I know of them and what they have since told me, their feelings were quite free from any sexual desires, though their love for one another was great. When parted they exchanged letters daily, but were always endeavoring to urge one another on in all the virtues, and as far as I can gather they never gave way to any feeling they thought was not for the good of their souls.

"Letters and presents are exchanged, vows of eternal love are made, quarrels are engaged in for the mere pleasure of reconciliation, and jealousy is easily manifested. Although 'raves' are chiefly found among the school-girls, they are by no means confined to them, but are common among any community of women of any age, say, under thirty, and are not unknown among mar-

ried women, where there is no inversion. In these cases there is usually, of course, no ignorance of sexual matters.

"Whether there is any direct harm in these friendships I have not been able to make up my mind. In the case of school-girls if there is not too much emotion generated and if the sexual feelings are not indulged in, I think they may do more good than harm. Later on in life when all one's desires and feelings are at their strongest it is more doubtful."

III.

That the phenomena as found in the girls' colleges of America are exactly similar to those in Italy and England is shown, among other evidence, by some communications sent to Mr. E. G. Lancaster, of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., a few years ago.

Mr. E. G. Lancaster sent out a *questionnaire* to over 800 teachers and older pupils dealing with various points connected with adolescence, and received answer from 91 persons containing information which bore on the present question.¹ Of this number, 28 male and 41 female had been in love before the age of 25, while 11 of each sex had had no love experiences, this indicating, since the women were in a majority, that the absence of love experience is more common in women than in men. These answers were from young people between 16 and 25 years of age. Two males and 7 females have loved imaginary characters, while 3 males and not less than 46 females speak of passionate love for the same sex. Love of the same sex, Lancaster remarks, though not generally known, is very common; it is not mere friendship; the love is strong, real, and passionate. It may be remarked that these 49 cases were reported without solicitation, since there was no reference to homosexual love in the *questionnaire*. Many of the answers to the syllabus are so beautiful, Lancaster observes, that if they could be printed in full no comment would be necessary. He quotes a few of the

¹ E. G. Lancaster, "The Psychology and Pedagogy of Adolescence," *Pedagogical Seminary*, July, 1897, p. 88.

answers. Thus a woman of 33 writes: "At 14 I had my first case of love, but it was with a girl. It was insane, intense love, but had the same quality and sensations as my first love with a man at 18. In neither case was the object idealized. I was perfectly aware of their faults; nevertheless my whole being was lost, immersed in their existence. The first lasted two years, the second seven years. No love has since been so intense, but now these persons, though living, are no more to me than the veriest stranger." Another woman of 35 writes: "Girls between the ages of 14 and 18 at college or girls' schools often fall in love with the same sex. This is not friendship. The loved one is older, more advanced, more charming or beautiful. When I was a freshman in college I knew at least thirty girls who were in love with a senior. Some sought her because it was the fashion, but I knew that my own homage and that of many others was sincere and passionate. I loved her because she was brilliant and utterly indifferent to the love shown her. She was not pretty, though at the time we thought her beautiful. One of her adorers, on being slighted, was ill for two weeks. On her return she was speaking to me when the object of our admiration came into the room. The shock was too great and she fainted. When I reached the senior year I was the recipient of languishing glances, original verses, roses, and passionate letters written at midnight and three in the morning." No such similar confessions are recorded from men.

APPENDIX E.

COUNTESS SAROLTA V.

ON the 4th of November, 1889, the father-in-law of a certain Count Sandor V., gave information to the authorities that he had been cheated of 800 florins by false pretences, and further stated that in the spring of that year a fictitious marriage had taken place between his daughter and Count Sandor; also he alleged that Count Sandor was not a man at all, but a woman going about in man's clothes, and really called Sarolta (Charlotte) Countess V.

She was arrested. On her first examination she acknowledged that she was born on the 6th of December, 1866, and was really of the female sex, a Catholic, unmarried, and that she was engaged as a journalist and author under the name of Count Sandor V.

From an autobiography written by this man-woman the following facts have been ascertained, and are confirmed by information from other sources:—

She belongs to an ancient, aristocratic, and highly respectable Hungarian family which has always been remarkable for eccentricity. A sister of her maternal grandmother was hysterical and somnambulistic, and on account of an imaginary paralysis kept her bed for seventeen years. Another great-aunt lay in bed for seven years on account of an imaginary fatal illness, but at the same time gave balls. A third had the idea that a console in her drawing-room was bewitched. If anyone placed anything on this console she became extremely excited, called out "Bewitched, bewitched," and hastened with the object into a room which she called the Black Chamber, the key of which she never allowed to go into anyone else's hands. After the

death of this lady a collection of shawls, ornaments, bank-notes, etc., was found in the Black Chamber. A fourth great-aunt for two years would not allow her room to be cleaned, and would not wash or comb herself; at the end of the two years she again made her appearance. All these ladies were, however, intellectual, cultivated, and amiable.

Sarolta's mother was nervous, and could not bear the moon-shine.

Her father's family were generally regarded as rather crack-brained. One line of the family occupied itself almost exclusively with spiritualism. Two blood-relations on the father's side shot themselves. The majority of the men are extraordinarily talented. The women are very homely and commonplace people. Sarolta's father occupied a high post, which, however, he had to give up on account of his eccentricity and spendthrift habits.

It was a whim of the father's to educate Sarolta as a boy, to teach her to ride, drive, and hunt; he admired her masculine energy, and called her Sandor. On the other hand, he educated his two sons as girls and put them in woman's clothing up to the age of fifteen.

Sarolta-Sandor remained under the influence of her father until her twelfth year, when she went to her eccentric maternal grandmother at Dresden, and was by her, when this fictitious manliness became too obtrusive, sent to a boarding-school and dressed as a girl. At the age of thirteen she went away with an English girl, with whom she formed a love-relationship, and declared that she was a boy. Sarolta returned to her mother, who, however, could not make out how it was that her daughter had again become Sandor, wore boy's clothes, and at least once every year played at love-relationships with persons of her own sex. At the same time she was receiving a careful education, learned to speak, besides Hungarian and German, French, English, and to some extent Italian, made long journeys with her father in England and France, of course, always as a young man; emancipated herself early, visited cafés and even places of doubtful reputation, and boasted that one day in a brothel she had a

girl seated on each knee. Sarolta was often intoxicated; she was a passionate lover of manly sports, and a very skillful fencer. She felt herself very attracted to actresses or other independent ladies, who were not always very young, and to whom she gave presents and bouquets. She declares she has never felt any inclination to a man, and from year to year has felt a growing dislike for men. "I preferred to go into the society of women in the company of plain insignificant men, so that I might not be left in the shade. If I observed that one of them aroused sympathy in the ladies I became jealous. I preferred intellectual to physically beautiful women, but I could not stand those who were coarse or forward. I liked a woman's passion to be revealed beneath a poetic veil; anything immodest in a woman was disgusting to me. I had an unspeakable dislike to female clothing and to everything else of a female character, but only in myself, for I was an enthusiastic lover of the fair sex."

For about ten years Sarolta has lived almost constantly as a man and away from her relatives. She has formed a number of *liaisons* with women, traveled with them, spent much money, and got into debt.

At the same time she displayed literary activity, and was a valued contributor to two high-class journals in Vienna, one of Semitic, the other of anti-Semitic, tendency.

Her passion for women was very variable. She never showed constancy of love. Only once a relationship lasted for three years. This was at Schloss Gyon. Sarolta here made acquaintance with Emma E., ten years older than herself. She fell in love with this lady, made a marriage contract with her, and lived with her three years as man and wife in Pesth.

A new love, which was to be fateful for Sarolta, caused her to dissolve her "marriage" with E. The latter did not wish to leave her. It was only with difficulty that Sarolta bought her freedom from E., who, it appears, still considers herself a divorced woman, and calls herself Countess V. That Sarolta was also able to call out passion in other women appears from the fact that before the marriage with E. she had become tired of a certain Fraülein D., after having squandered much money

with her, and Fraülein D. had threatened to shoot her if she did not remain true.

In the summer of 1887, while staying at a watering-place, Sarolta became acquainted with the family of a respectable official. She at once fell in love with the daughter, Marie, and her love was returned. The latter's mother and cousin tried to throw hindrances in the way of an engagement, but in vain. The two lovers carried on an ardent correspondence throughout the winter. When a friend sought to dissuade Marie from marriage, saying that Sandor was not able to marry, she declared that if she could not marry she would be his maid-servant. In April, 1888, Count Sandor came on a visit, when the lovers on several occasions slept together, and in May, 1889, Sarolta reached the goal of her desires, and Marie, who in the meanwhile had given up the position she occupied as teacher, in the presence of a friend of her beloved Sandor, was married in a summer-house in Hungary by a pretended priest, a young man in a choir-surplice. Sarolta had got up the marriage with her friend. The pair lived together very happily, Marie being quite ignorant of conjugal duties, and if it had not been for the information given by the father-in-law this apparent marriage might have lasted for an indefinite period. It is remarkable that during the tolerably long engagement Sarolta was able to deceive her bride's family completely regarding her sex.

Sarolta was a passionate smoker, and had a thoroughly masculine carriage and habits. Her letters were always addressed to Count Sandor, and she often observed that she would soon be called to military duties. Shortly before the "marriage" she wrote two pamphlets, one on the land question in Hungary, the other on the autonomy of the Catholic Church.

From the information given by the father-in-law, it appears that Sarolta (as she afterward confessed) used to stuff handkerchiefs or gloves into her trousers' pockets to produce the appearance of sexual organs. The father-in-law also once observed something like an erect member in his future son-in-law, who also let fall the remark that in riding he had to wear a suspensory bandage. As a matter of fact, Sarolta wore a bandage round

her body to support an artificial organ. Marie's family frequently observed Sandor during walks retire up to a tree, apparently for the purpose of urinating like a man; in the privy she contrived to wet the back of the seat, and for this was scolded by the mother-in-law. Although Sarolta frequently shaved for appearance sake, the people at the hotel were convinced she was a woman because the chamber-maid had found traces of menstrual blood on the washing (Sarolta explained this as due to piles), and once when Sarolta was taking a bath the maid looked through the key-hole and convinced herself that Sarolta was a woman.

Concerning Sarolta's intellectual individuality a large number of manuscripts give us information. The handwriting is firm and assured; it has a genuinely masculine character. The contents everywhere contain the same characteristics—wild, unrestrained passion, hatred and opposition to everything which opposes itself to hearts thirsting for love and its return, a poetical love in which there was no trace of anything ignoble, but enthusiasm for everything fair and lovely, together with an intelligent perception of science and the fine arts. Her writings betray unusually wide reading in the classics of all languages. Evidence has been called to show that her literary productions are not insignificant.

The letters and writings concerning the relationship to Marie are psychologically interesting. Sarolta speaks of the bliss she had experienced at Marie's side, and of the boundless desire she had to see the adored woman again, if only for a moment. After the outrage to which she had been subjected, she only wished now to exchange the cell for the grave. The bitterest pain was the consciousness that now Marie also must hate her. Hot tears, so many that she could drown herself in them, had she wept over her lost happiness. Whole pages were concerned with the apotheosis of this affection and with recollections of the days of early love and acquaintance. Sarolta mourns over her heart, which will not be dominated by reason. Then, again, she breaks out into mad passion, and declares she cannot live without Marie.

The tones of your dear, lovely voice, a voice which might even make me rise from my grave, have always been to me a promise of Paradise. Your mere presence was enough to soothe my physical and moral griefs. It was a magnetic stream, a peculiar power which your being exercised over mine, and which I have never been quite able to define to myself. So I have to content myself with the everlastingly true definition: I love you because I love you. In the comfortless night I had only one star, the star of Marie's love. The star is now gone out—there is now only the reflection of it, the sweet melancholy recollection, which lightens up the terrible night of death with a pale glimmer of hope.

She breaks out again into this appeal:—

Gentlemen, wise lawyers, and medical pathologists, judge me! Every step that I took was led by love: each of my acts was caused by love. God put it into my heart. If He created me so, and not otherwise, am I guilty, or is it the everlasting and unfathomable ways of fate? I have trusted in God that one day redemption would come, for my fault was only love itself which is the principle and foundation of His laws—His very kingdom itself! O God! Thou merciful and all-powerful, Thou seest my torment, Thou knowest what I suffer. Bend to me and reach to me Thy helping hand now that all the world has forsaken me. Only God is just. How beautifully Victor Hugo describes this in his *Legende des Siècles*!

Although Sarolta knew that none of her writings reached her beloved, she was never weary of penning long outbursts of adoration of Marie's person, full of the joy and pain of love,

"in order to beg for one bright, gleaming tear wept on a still, bright summer evening, when the sea glows in the evening light like molten gold, and the bells, mingling in harmonious melancholy, proclaim rest and peace for this poor soul, for this poor heart!—that to its last breath is beating for thee."

The first meeting between the doctors and Sarolta was in some degree embarrassing on both sides, for the first on account of Sarolta's perhaps somewhat forced masculine airs, for her because she thought that she was about to receive the brand of moral insanity. She possesses an intelligent, not unbeautiful face, which, in spite of a certain delicacy of feature and smallness of all the parts, has a very decided masculine character. It was difficult for the doctors to realize, in spite of the presence of

female clothing, that they had a woman before them, intercourse with the man Sandor seeming much more natural. The accused also felt this. She became more free and communicative as soon as she was treated as a man.

Notwithstanding the inclination toward the female sex, which she had shown from her earliest years, it was only in her thirteenth year, when she ran away with the red-haired English girl from the Dresden institute, that the first traces of the sexual instinct appeared, and manifested themselves in kisses, caresses, and contact accompanied by voluptuous emotions. Even at this time her dreams were exclusively concerned with female forms, and then and ever since in erotic dreams she always felt herself in the situation of a man. She knew nothing of solitary or mutual masturbation. This appeared to her very disgusting and unworthy of masculine dignity. She has never allowed anyone to touch her genital organs, partly for this reason, partly because it would have revealed her great secret. The menses first appeared at the age of seventeen, but were always slight in amount and without pain. Sarolta visibly detests the mention of menstrual phenomena as repulsive to her masculine consciousness and feelings. She recognizes the morbidity of her sexual inclinations, but does not wish to be different, because with these emotions she feels herself perfectly well and happy.

The idea of sexual intercourse with men is disgusting to her, and she regards it as impossible. Her modesty goes so far that it is easier for her to sleep with men than with women. For this reason when she wishes to satisfy a need, or to change her linen, she begs her cell companion to turn to the window, so that she may not see her. When Sarolta by chance came in close contact with this cell companion, a woman belonging to the dregs of the people, she experienced voluptuous excitement at which she blushed. She tells unasked of the misery she felt on being placed in the cell in unaccustomed female garments. Her only consolation was that she had at least been left her shirt.

Smell plays a considerable part in her sexual life, and she mentioned that on the occasion of an absence of her Marie she sought out and smelled those parts of the sofa on which Marie's

head had been accustomed to lie, in order to inhale with delight the aroma left by the hair. The women who interested Sarolta were not exactly beautiful, or voluptuous, or very young. She always places the physical charms of a woman in the second rank. She feels herself drawn with a "magnetic" attraction to women of about twenty-four to thirty. Her sexual satisfaction she finds exclusively in the body of her friend, never in her own body, usually in the form of masturbation of the beloved woman, or else of *cunnilingus*. Occasionally she uses a stocking stuffed with tow as a priapus. Sarolta made these confessions unwillingly, and with visible shame; in her writings, also, there are never any signs of immodesty. She is religious, takes a lively interest in everything fair and noble, and is very sensitive to the moral appreciation of others. She deeply regrets that she has made Marie unhappy in her passion. She regards her sexual instinct as perverse, and such love of one woman to another in normal people as morally objectionable. She is not only highly talented in literary respects, but possesses a remarkable memory. Her only weakness is capriciousness, and the impossibility of behaving sensibly about money. She is, however, conscious of this weakness, and begs that nothing more be said of it.

Sarolta is 153 c. in height, the bony system is delicate; she is slender, and remarkably muscular in the chest and thighs. Her walk in woman's clothing is awkward; her movements are energetic, not unbeautiful, although with a certain masculine rigidity and lack of grace. She greets you with a hearty handshake. Her whole bearing is decided, stiff, somewhat self-conscious. Her expression is intelligent, her bearing rather grave. Feet and hands are strikingly small, like a child's.¹ The extensor side of the extremities is remarkably covered with hair, although there is not the slightest trace of a beard, in

¹ Her personal appearance, it may be said, was thus briefly summed up by an interviewer: "The countess is of middle height, with a good chest, heavy shoulders, and well-developed arms and legs. She has short, curly dark hair, hazel eyes, a saucy nose, and a Cupid's bow mouth. Although the lines of her face have been somewhat deepened and hardened by her fast life, she still looks like a handsome, dashing young fellow of twenty years."

spite of all efforts with the razor. The body is not at all of feminine build, and there is no waist. The pelvis is so slender and so little prominent that a line drawn from the armpit to the knee is straight, not drawn in at the waist nor projecting at the hips. The skull is slightly oxycephalic, and at least 1 cm. below the female average. The circumference of the skull amounts to 52; the posterior circumference is 24, starting from the ear. The parietal is 23, the frontal 28.5, long diameter 17, greatest breadth 13, distance between auditory meatus 12, between malar processes 12.2 cm. The upper jaw projects; position of teeth not quite normal; the right upper canine has never developed. The mouth is remarkably small; the ears stand out; the lobule is adherent to the cheek. The hard palate is small and steep; the voice is rough and deep. The breasts are sufficiently developed, soft, without secretion. The mons veneris is covered by thick dark hair. The sexual organs are of completely feminine type, without any trace of hermaphroditic phenomena, but they have remained at the same infantile stage as those of a girl of ten. The labia majora meet almost completely; the labia minora are of cockscomb shape and project beyond the greater lips. The clitoris is small and very sensitive. The frenulum is delicate, the perineum very small, the entrance to the vagina narrow, and the mucous membrane normal. The hymen is absent, apparently from birth; there are no carunculæ myrtiformes. The vagina is so narrow that the entrance of the *membrum virile* would be impossible, or, at least, extremely painful. Coitus has certainly not taken place. The uterus was felt through the rectum about the size of a walnut, immovable and retroflected.

The pelvis is small in all directions (dwarf pelvis), and is of decidedly masculine type. The distance between the anterior spinous processes is 22.5 (instead of 26.3); between iliac crests 26.5 (instead of 29.3), trochanters 27.7 (31); the external conjugate is 17.2 (19-20), so the internal is probably 7.7 (10.8). On account of the defective breadth of the pelvis, the thighs are not convergent, as is normally the case in women, but straight.

This examination, in the opinion of the experts consulted,

revealed in Sarolta a congenital morbid perversion of the sexual instinct, expressing itself even in anomalies of physical development, on a foundation of hereditary degeneration; and they held that the incriminated actions of Sarolta were due to her morbid and irresistible sexual impulse. In so far, her own expression is fully justified: "If God so created me, and not otherwise, is it my fault?"

This view of the case was taken by the court. The "Countess in Men's Clothes," as the newspapers called her, returned to the capital of her own country, and again bore herself as "Count Sandor." She had sown her wild oats, she said, and had suffered for it. Her only grief is the loss of the happiness she enjoyed with her ardently loved Marie, whom she dreams of every night. The latter, it may be added, retains her love for the countess, whom she calls the grandest of women, and she longs to be her companion through life.

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